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Archæological Survey of India.

REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1871-72.

BY

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VOLUME III.

"What is aimed at is an accurate description, illustrated by plans, measurements, drawings or photographs, and by copies of inscriptions, of such remains as most deserve notice, with the history of them so far as it may be traceable, and a record of the traditions that are preserved regarding them."—LORD CANNING.

"What the learned world demand of us India is to be quite certain of our data, to place the monumental record before them exactly as it now exists, and to interpret it faithfully and literally."—JAMES PRINSEP.

Bengal Asiatic Society's Jour 1838, p. 227

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INTRODUCTION.

AFTER a long and careful consideration of several different modes of carrying out the Archæological Survey of India, the direction of which has been entrusted to my charge, it appeared to me that the most convenient plan would be to begin with those portions of the country where much had already been done by previous explorers, so as to complete, as early as possible, the examination of the better known provinces. Untried and inexperienced archæologists would have the advantage of comparing and scrutinizing the published accounts of their predecessors, and would thus learn more clearly and thoroughly the nature of the work that was required from them, as well as the actual extent of what had been done already.

I left Calcutta in the middle of February 1871, and after paying a visit to Jaunpur, to make plans of all the large mosques of the Sharki Kings, I proceeded to Agra, where, in the beginning of March, I met my two assistants, Messrs. J. D. Beglar and A. C. L. Carlleyle. As the cold season was then too far advanced to admit of any field work being carried on with advantage, I thought it best to begin with a survey of the two great capitals of the Mughal Empire, Agra and Delhi, which could be continued, without interruption, during the hot season and rains. To Mr. Carlleyle I assigned the survey of Agra, and to Mr. Beglar the survey of Delhi. Both works were completed in October 1871, and my two assistants were thus ready to take the field early in November. Their reports are herewith submitted.

For the working season of 1871-72, I selected the North-West Provinces as the scene of operations. For the purposes of the survey, I divided the whole country into three nearly equal sections: all the districts to the north of the Jumna forming the northern or Agra section; those to the west of the Grand Trunk Road running from Agra to Indore forming the south-west or Ajmer section; and those to the east of the road forming the south-east or Bundelkhand section. To Mr. Carlleyle I entrusted the survey of Rajputana,

and to Mr. Beglar that of Bundelkhand, reserving the northern section for my own share of the work. Each assistant was furnished with a copy of the following letter of instructions with an illustrative map. The red lines in the map connected places which were known to possess objects of interest, but as many of these places had already been more or less completely described, my assistants were duly warned not to waste their time in doing over again that which had already been done. Thus Mr. Beglar, who was to visit Khajurâho, was told not to make copies of inscriptions or plans of the temples, as these had already been done by myself; each assistant was also furnished with a copy of the reprint of my four previous Archæological Reports, as a kind of guide from which they could learn what still remained to be done.

MEMORANDUM OF INSTRUCTIONS.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

"In the tour which I have sketched out for you during the present cold season of 1871-72, you will have an opportunity of visiting some of the most famous places, and of seeing some of the finest buildings in India. By recent personal communications, as well as by correspondence during the past hot season, you have already learned the nature of the information which you are required to collect. The perusal of my four Archæological Reports, the reprint of which is now in your hands, will also show you what has already been done before, so that the whole of your time and attention may be directed to the acquisition of fresh information, instead of being wasted in doing old work over again.

But though I feel that you fully understand the general scope and object of your present employment as an assistant on the Archæological Survey of India, yet I think it will be an advantage to have some of the objects of your research more precisely and fully detailed. I have therefore drawn up the following notes on various points of archæological interest to which I wish you to give your best attention during your present tour.

Archæology is not limited to broken sculptures, old buildings and mounds of ruins, but includes everything that belonged to the world's history. From their size and number, architectural remains naturally form the most prominent branch of archæology. This is more especially the case in India, where, save coins, ruined buildings are almost

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the only remains of bygone times. The study of architectural remains is therefore one of the most important objects of most Indian archæologists. But our researches should be extended to all ancient remains whatever that will help to illustrate the manners and customs of former times. Some of the more obvious and interesting of these objects of research will be noted hereafter.

The nature of the information to be sought for can only be indicated in general terms. It should, however, always include the following points :—

1.—The various names of the place reported upon, and their origin or derivation.

2.—The date of its foundation, either historical or traditional, or both.

3.—Its former extent, as shown by existing gates or by sites of gates, as well as by lines of old brick-kilns, or by tradition.

4.—A description of the principal buildings, whether standing or in ruins, including the nature and colour of the materials employed, whether granite, marble, sandstone, brick, &c. The description should include the form and size of each building, with any special peculiarities, either of style or of ornamentation; and also the cost if this can be obtained.

5.—The history, either written or traditional, of each principal building.

6.—A detailed plan of each principal building, and a section of at least one building typical of each style.

Some buildings may be remarkable only for their historical interest, but they are worth preserving on that account alone, although they may be otherwise insignificant. Such, for instance, is the small mosque of Roshan-ud-daulah in the Chândni Chauk at Delhi, where Nadir Shah sat for several hours, while plunder and massacre were going on all around him. Other buildings may be remarkable for their beauty or grandeur, or because they are the best specimens of their respective styles. All these should of course be carefully described. But there are others which show the gradual progress of the art of architecture in India, and are therefore worth preserving, either wholly or in part, as historical specimens. All examples of beautiful ornamentation or of peculiar constructive skill should also be noted; and I may

say generally, that whatever is striking either in form or in design is worthy of preservation.

Where there are many buildings, all need not be described in full, but any special differences should be noted. The selection of the best typical specimens must be left entirely to the taste and judgment of the assistant employed on this duty.

I would especially call attention to the singular beauty of some of the flowered ornaments in stucco, which are to be found in many of the old Pathân tombs and musjids. They are, I believe, generally in white, and in relief, with either a blue or a red ground.

The best specimens of the gorgeous ornamentation in glazed tiles of various colours should also be noted, as the art has now been lost in India, and the few specimens which still exist have been as much injured by the hands of the spoiler as by the hand of time. Some of the flowered patterns in this style are very rich in colour and delicate in treatment.

Our knowledge of the ancient architecture of India is at present very limited. We have some splendid monoliths and wonderful rock-hewn caves; also several ornamented stupas with their surrounding colonnades, as well as some sculptured pillars of a Buddhist railing at Gaya, which are almost certainly of the age of Asoka, B. C. 250. Of the time of the Indo-Scythians, from 100 B. C. to 100 A. D., we possess no actual building, but we have numerous representations of their architecture in the sculptured scenes on the pillars at Mathura, where also have been discovered several full-sized bases and capitals of pillars, which correspond with the examples in the sculptured medallions. The sculptures of the same period from the Yusufzai district to the west of the Indus, though less valuable, from being entirely devoid of inscriptions, are perhaps more important as illustrations of architecture, as they show decided modification and extension of the Greek use of the acanthus foliage. Judging from two or three full-size capitals of singular beauty, and from several specimens of arcades or elevations of buildings, I think that this style, when recovered, will most probably give us several novel and pleasing hints for the treatment of the exteriors of our buildings.

Of the Gupta period, which extends from A. D. 78 to 319, we have no certain examples except monolith pillars,

and some sculptured representatives of the exteriors of buildings. But, judging from these, and from the spirited execution of their gold coins, there can be no doubt that architecture was in a very flourishing state during their rule. Many of the cave excavations of Western India belong to this period, as well as several of the sculptures found at Mathura. In these examples the acanthus foliage of the capitals has given place to animals. These are generally lions or bulls, but there are also fabulous winged animals with human faces, which recall the style of the Assyrian and Persepolitan architecture.

In examining ancient buildings, one of the chief points to be attended to is the presence of inscriptions, and more especially of such as, from their position, show that they were designed to record the original erection. In the absence of such an inscription, the records of pilgrims should be searched for, as they are sometimes found of dates nearly as old as the buildings themselves. The stones should also be carefully examined for mason's marks, which are rarely absent from old buildings, and which, if numerous, will serve to give a tolerably complete alphabet of the characters in use when the structure was erected. In all temples the nature of the sculptures over the entrance door, and also over the entrance of the sanctum, should be noted. From them we can generally determine the original purpose of the building, as it was the usual practice to place the figure of the god to whom the temple was dedicated over the middle of the doorway, while the side niches were occupied either by figures of the other two members of the Hindu Triad, or by his wives, or by other representations of himself. Thus the *Teli Mandar* at Gwalior, which was originally dedicated to Vishnu, as shown by the figure of *Garud* over the lofty entrance door, was afterwards taken possession of by the Saivas, who added a lower doorway with a figure of their own god, and placed a "lingam" inside. Similarly, I have seen Brahmanical temples occupied by the Jains, who do not appear to have been more scrupulous than the Saivas.

When pure Jaina temples are met with, they should be closely and carefully examined, and any differences that may be detected between them and Brahmanical temples in their general design, or in their interior arrangements, or external decoration, should be specially noted. Enquiry should also be made whether these differences are common

to Jaina temples, and whether there is any noticeable or well known peculiarity of style or design that is characteristic of Jaina architecture.

The fretted ceilings of Hindu temples are often of singular beauty, which is not surpassed by the finest specimens of Gothic fretwork. All the finer examples of these ceilings should be noted, stating their size and the general nature of the design.

In many of the older villages will be found fragments of sculpture, together with curiously shaped or coloured stones, collected together under some large tree, generally either a banyan or a pippal. In the same places also, as I have been informed, are sometimes found stone celts and splintered arrow-heads of stone. On the sculptures I have frequently found traces of inscriptions; but more usually these fragmentary remains, heaped together under the village trees, are much worn by the daily libations of water and anointments of red lead to which they are subjected. They serve, however, to show what was the religion of the former occupants of the village when the sculptures were executed.

Connected with the stone celts are the large earthen barrows, stone circles and stone houses or *dolmens*, which are found in many of the hilly parts of India. The positions and dimensions of all these should be noted for further research and future excavation. Smaller monuments may perhaps be opened at once, as the work would not occupy more than a few days; but all the larger barrows must be left for more leisurely exploration. Monoliths or *menhirs* are more rarely found; but these, as well as dolmens and circles, need not be looked for in any place except where stone is plentiful, and in positions where their removal would give more trouble than the procuring of similar stones from the quarry. For this reason, such Buddhist topes as were erected on hills, have been generally spared by the spoiler, while those built in the plain afforded the most tempting quarries of dressed stones, or burnt bricks ready for removal.

I think it also desirable that attention should be given to the many rude but curious agricultural implements which are still used in the less frequented districts to the south of the Jumna. Their names should be noted, and a rough sketch made of each implement, showing the material of which each part is constructed. As the names for these implements and their different parts vary in different districts, all these changes should be carefully noted.

The principal implements are the plough, the toothed harrow, the smoothing board, the sowing drill, the pick and the hoe, and all the various contrivances for raising water. In Bundelkhand the bill-hook for cutting wood is called *dhao*, and in Burma it is called *dâh*. In all probability the word is Indian, and if so, the bill-hook must have been introduced into Burma by the Indians. It would be interesting to learn whether it is known, and by what name, in Rajputana and in other countries to the south of the Jumna.

The various forms of mills for sugar and oil should also be noted. When made of stone, they are sometimes inscribed.

Any peculiarities in the form or construction of the native carts might also be noted with advantage. In the southern districts of Ujain, Ashta, and Bhupâl, the richer merchants make use of carts with solid wheels of a hard wood, which are very highly ornamented. A pair of wheels costs about Rs. 100, and is said to last for about 100 years, during which time the body of the cart is renewed at least three times.

In noting these few examples, I desire chiefly to direct attention to the many curious and old-fashioned things which still exist in several parts of India. Some of these may help to throw light on the scenes sculptured on old monuments; others may serve to illustrate passages in ancient authors; whilst all will be valuable for preserving a knowledge of things which in many places are now fast passing away, and will soon become obsolete and forgotten.

Another interesting subject on which enquiry should be made is that of the "weights and measures" of the country, of which many curious specimens are still in daily use in the districts to the south of the Jumna, although the people will generally produce other measures before Europeans. The old measures are usually made of joints of bambu, or of brass or iron, and more rarely of hard wood. Occasionally these vessels are inscribed and ornamented. What is chiefly required is a record of the names and values of these old measures in different districts. The values should be ascertaind in cubic inches, both for *struck* and *heaped* measures. The commonest name for one of the smaller measures is *Nali*, which means simply a joint of bambu. The metal vessels are usually shaped something like hour-glasses, being narrower in the middle than at top and bottom. Other names are *Paile* or *Pali*, *Dona* or *Drona*, &c.

In the Gangetic provinces these old measures have long ago disappeared, and the names are no longer remembered, except by scholars, as occurring in Sanskrit books. It is an object therefore to obtain as many independent values as possible for such of these old measures as still exist, with the view of determining the capacities of those mentioned in ancient Sanskrit works. Drawings of the vessels should be made to scale, and their capacity in cubic inches determined by actual measurement. I have found both mustard seed and poppy seed very convenient for this purpose.

I would also draw attention to some of the records on *Sati pillars*, which are very numerous in the hilly countries to the south of the Jumna, where stone is plentiful. These are generally single, upright slabs, somewhat like the common head-stones of Christian graves. Some take the form of square pillars with capitals, while many of the more modern monuments have canopies, supported on open pillars, and may readily be mistaken for Muhammadan tombs.

The greater number of the Sati monuments are of little or no interest, and present nothing but the usual figure of a woman's arm placed between emblems of the sun and moon, and accompanied by a short inscription, giving the date of the burning of the sati with her husband's body. But as some of the longer records give the name of the village, and of the reigning king, they may afford valuable aid both to history and to geography. For instance, I found a Sati pillar in the old village of Miyâna about 100 miles to the south of Gwalior, on which it is recorded that it was set up 'during the reign of the great *Mahardja Sri Sultan Gayâsuddin*, who ruled over Chanderi and Mându.' This was Ghias shah of Malwa, whose capital was Mându, and whose dominions, as we learn from this short inscription, certainly extended to Chanderi on the east, and to Miyâna on the north.

The larger Sati pillars also give a sculptured representation of the manner of death of the sati's husband. In this way we learn whether he was a horse soldier or a foot soldier, and what were the kinds of weapons in use at the time. Colonel Tod mentions that on the sea coast of Gujarat some of the Sati pillars have representations of ships, showing that the sati's husband must have perished at sea, either in fight or by wreck. It will be useful therefore to take a note of all Sati monuments that are interesting,

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either for their peculiar design and sculptured ornaments, or for their inscriptions.

The last point which I will notice here is the distribution of races, a subject of great interest and importance for the illustration of Indian history. During my travels I have been in the habit of collecting at every place where I halted as much statistical information as possible, regarding the numbers and names of the different castes of its inhabitants. In this way I have obtained much valuable information as to the distribution of races.

I have thus been able to show that the *Jajhotiya* Brahmans are rarely found beyond the limits of the ancient kingdom of *Jajhoti;* and as there are also *Jajhotiya* Baniyas, I conclude that the name is simply a geographical distinction, like those of *Sarsutiya, Sarwariya* or *Sarjupâriya, Kanojiya* and *Gaur* Brahmans; and not derived from *Yajurhota,* as native Sanskirt scholars assert.

Information collected in this way may not be more than approximately correct as to *numbers,* but I see no reason to doubt its perfect accuracy as to the *names* of the various classes who inhabit any particular village.

(Signed) A. CUNNINGHAM, *Major General,*
Director General, Archæological Survey of India."

In carrying out these instructions, the following places have been visited by Mr. Beglar, who has secured about seventy photographic negatives of various Hindu buildings, of which forty are illustrations of the architecture of the Chândels, taken from the beautiful temples at Khajurâho and Mahoba.

Buteswar.	Ajaygarh.
Bhind.	Nagod.
Erich.	Rupnâth.
Mahoba.	Rahatgarh.
Râhat.	Pathâri.
Dauwi.	Udaypur.
Râhilya.	Gyârispur.
Makarbahi.	Bhilsa.
Khajurâho.	Sânchi.
Panna.	

The following places have been visited by Mr. Carlleyle, who has been very fortunate in discovering several important

inscriptions, one of which, dated in the Samvat year 428, is especially valuable in furnishing us with the alphabetic characters in use during that particular century, of which previously we had no authentic example.

Rupbâs.	Bairât.
Jagner.	Uncha Pahâr.
Bainsakuri.	Jaypur.
Beijalpur.	Deosa.
Atrajipur.	Nain.
Toretpur.	Châtsu.
Lakhampur.	Toda.
Rayâna.	Baghera.
Bijagarh.	Bîsolpur.
Ritâmar.	Deoli.
Mâcheri.	

My own researches were begun at Mathura, where I made many valuable discoveries of inscriptions and sculptures of a very early date. The necessity of visiting Gaur and Sunargaon, in connexion with the proposed publication of Mr. Ravenshaw's photographs of the ruins of Gaur, obliged me to give up my intended plan of completing the examination of the northern section of the North West Provinces. The places which I visited were the following:—

Mathura.	Kiyul.
Bithâ.	Jaynagar.
Garhwâ.	Nongarh.
Latiya.	Dhaka.
Akhanda.	Sunârgaon.
Baghsar.	Bikrampur.
Mahâsâra.	Pandua.
Arâ.	Gaur.
Buddha Gaya.	Hazrat Pandua.
Prâg Bodhi.	Mâlda.
Gaya.	Râjmahal.
Yashtivana.	Champanagar.
Râjagriha.	Itâwa.
Giryek.	Koil.
Nâlanda.	Delhi.
Bihâr.	Lahor.
Rajaona.	

The results of my researches are described in the following pages, with the exception of the exploration of the ancient Muhammadan cities of Gaur, Sunârgaon, and Delhi, the account of which I reserve for future illustration.

TRIVANDRUM

The Report now submitted consists of the following documents:—

1. Report of researches at various places in the Gangetic valley, from Mathura to Lakhisarai, during 1871-72, by Major General A. Cunningham, illustrated by 47 plates.
2. Report of explorations at *Delhi* during the summer of 1871, by Mr. J. D. Beglar, illustrated by 10 plates.
3. Report of explorations at *Agra* during the summer of 1871, by Mr. A. C. L. Carlleyle, illustrated by 6 plates.
4. Report of researches at various places between the Jumna and the Narbadda to the south-east of Agra, during 1871-72, by Mr. Beglar, illustrated by 12 plates.

No report has been received from Mr. Carlleyle of his researches in Rajputana during 1871-72, but I hope to be able to prepare some account of the work done by him from his letters, some of which give full and interesting details of his discoveries.

A. CUNNINGHAM, *Major General,*
Director General, Archæological Survey of India.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL REPORT.

REPORT OF OPERATIONS OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA FOR THE SEASON 1871-72.

In treating of Indian Antiquities, it would be a great convenience if we could make some temporary arrangement of styles or periods that would divide our daily increasing materials into small and manageable groups, to which reference could be made as to similarities and differences of treatment, without committing ourselves to any system or theory which we might afterwards have to abandon. But at present our knowledge of the Archæological remains of India is too limited to enable us to draw hard and fast lines between the different styles of building, or to determine the periods at which these may have been adopted by any particular peoples or races. It appears to me, therefore, a more judicious arrangement to divide our present materials, as far as possible, into a few distinctly marked chronological groups which can afterwards be redistributed, when our increased and more matured knowledge shall have provided us with the necessary amount of information for a more minute and appropriate nomenclature.

I would, therefore, divide all the remains at present known to us into a number of distinct and broadly named *Chronological Sections,* which would serve to indicate clearly the date of each period, while the whole would form a continuous and connected series illustrative of the history of Indian Art. The great advantage of such a chronological arrangement is its safety, as it disturbs nothing, and is not misleading, while it seems to indicate the exact period to which the particular style belongs.

The following groups into which, for the present, I propose to divide the Archæological remains of India, I would name as follows:—

HINDU PERIOD.

B. C. 1000 TO A. D. 1200.

1.—Archaic, from B. C. 1000 to 250.
2.—Indo-Grecian, from B. C. 250 to 57.
3.—Indo-Scythian, from B. C. 57 to A. D. 319.
4.—Indo-Sassanian, from A. D. 319 to 700.
5.—Mediæval Brahmanic, from A. D. 700 to 1200.
6.—Modern Brahmanic, from A. D. 1200 to 1750.

MUHAMMADAN PERIOD.

A. D. 1200 TO 1750.

1.—Ghori Pathan, with overlapping arches, from A. D. 1191 to 1289.
2.—Khilji Pathan, with horseshoe arches, from A. D. 1289 to 1321.
3.—Tughlak Pathan, with sloping walls, from A. D. 1321 to 1450.
4.—Afghan, with perpendicular walls, from A. D. 1450 to 1555.
5.—Bengali Pathan, from A. D. 1200 to 1500.
6.—Jaunpuri Pathan, from A. D. 1400 to 1500.
7.—Early Mughal, from A. D. 1556 to 1628.
8.—Late Mughal, from A. D. 1628 to 1750.

HINDU ARCHITECTURE.

1.—Archaic Period.

The earliest remains that are found in India are funeral mounds, or barrows of earth; circles, cromlechs, and monoliths of stone; celts and other implements, both of stone and bronze; personal ornaments of metal; and a large number of coins, both in silver and copper, which are commonly known as punch-marked, from being generally marked with a number of small symbols made with separate punches. The great barrows of Lauriya in Champâran and of Srâvasti and Ajudhiya in Oudh, are simply *earthen stupas*, and must, therefore, have preceded the age of Asoka. As they do not appear to be Buddhist works, it is probable that they may be even earlier than the age of Buddha himself, or prior to B. C. 500. The unknown centuries during which all these different kinds of rude monuments were in use, I propose to call by the general name of the "Archaic Period," which will include all the earlier works of both the Aryan and Dravidian races.

To the Aryans belong the stone walls of old Râjagriha or Kusâgârapura, the capital of Bimbisâra, as well as the Jarasandha-ka-Baithak and the Baibhâr and Sonbhandâr caves, all of which date certainly as early as B. C. 500. The ARCHAIC PERIOD I would close at 250 B. C., when the rude workmen of India were first brought into close contact with the artists of Greece, by the establishment of an independent Greek monarchy in the Kabul valley. From this time the native money of North-Western India borrows many of its designs from the coinage of the Greeks, while its architecture and military system, its chronology and its astronomy, all show very strong traces of Greek influence.

2.—INDO-GRECIAN PERIOD.

The second stage, which I would call the "INDO-GRECIAN PERIOD," comprises most of the finest examples of Indian art, which belong almost exclusively to the age of Asoka, whose lion-pillars, with their bands of honey-suckle and beaded mouldings, if not the work of Greek artists, show very able imitations of Greek design. To this period belong the Great Stupas of Sânchi and Satdhâra near Bhilsa, the Buddhist railings or colonnades of Sânchi and Gaya, and most probably also the bas-reliefs of the Orissa caves. As the first Indo-Scythians or Sacæ adopted the Grecian gods on their coinage, it seems probable that they effected little, if any, change in the religion and arts of Northern India. But with the accession of the later Indo-Scythians, or Tochari, the Greek mythology was at first superseded by the Persian worship of the elements, and soon after by Indian Buddhism, which was zealously adopted by Kanishka. This change of religion, which certainly took place some time in the middle of the first century before Christ, closes the Greek period, which thus lasted for about two centuries, or from 250 to 57 B. C.

3.—INDO-SCYTHIAN PERIOD.

To the third, or INDO-SCYTHIAN, period belong most of the Buddhist and Jain sculptures and pillars which have been exhumed from the mounds of Mathura and from the ruined cities in the Yusufzai district. To this period also belong the earliest of the Buddhist caves of Western India executed by the Saka Prince Nahapâna. The influence of the Greek art of the preceding period is most strongly marked in the

northern sculpture and architecture by the much freer treatment of the positions and drapery, and by the very general use of the acanthus leaf for the ornamental foliage of capitals.

In India the Indo-Scythian style was adopted, with some important modifications, by the powerful Gupta family, which most probably obtained dominion towards the end of the first century of the Christian era, or about 78 A. D. From their inscriptions we learn that the Gupta princes were Brahmanists, which is also shown by the coin types of the later kings. This change in the religion naturally effected a great alteration both in the sculpture and the architecture, as the former dealt with new objects of worship, and the latter discarded both the stupa and the monastery. In the Brahmanical parts of Northern India, therefore, the Indo-Scythian period was shortly succeeded by the Gupta period; but in Mathura and other great cities the Indo-Scythian style remained unchanged. . In Southern India, the great Andhra kings, who excavated many of the finest caves in Nâsik and Kânhari, were Buddhists, and accordingly the pillars in these caves belong to the same style as those of the Indo-Scythian period at Mathura. In Kabul and the Panjâb, where the Indo-Scythians still retained dominion, the style of art continued much the same, until it gradually gave way before the influence of Sassanian models. No exact date can be fixed for this change; but as it appears from numerous coins to have been well established in the beginning of the fifth century, its approximate period may be assigned to the first half of the fourth century, or contemporary with the downfall of the Gupta dominion, which probably took place in A. D. 319. To the same period belongs the rise of the great Châlukya family in Southern India, and the extinction of the power of the *Pallavas*, who were most probably a Scythian race.

The Indo-Scythian period thus lasted for nearly four centuries, or from the middle of the first century B. C. down to the early part of the fourth century A. D.

4.—Indo-Sassanian Period.

The influence of the Sassanians was perhaps most strongly felt in Sindh and Western Rajputana, where India and Persia came into direct contact; but in North-Western India and the Panjâb it was disseminated by the White Huns and the Little Yuchi, who successively held the Kabul valley.

The former were certainly fire-worshippers; and the latter were apparently Brahmanists; but both had adopted the style of the Sassanian coinage, and as the date of this Sassanian influence is well known, it is a convenient and well marked distinction to call it the INDO-SASSANIAN *period*. This period I would extend down to A. D. 700, shortly after which the direct Persian influence was brought to a close in Western India by the Muhammadan conquest of Sindh and Multan in A. D. 711. At this very time, also, great political changes would appear to have taken place in Northern India, as the Brahmanist Tomars and Chândels of Delhi and Khajurâho both date their rise from the first half of the eighth century, while the Brahman dynasty of Kabul supplanted the last of the Indo-Scythians towards the end of the same century. At the same time, also, the Râshtrakutas of Chedi achieved their independence, and the Pâlas of Magadha extended their rule over Banâras on the west and Orissa on the east.

5.—MEDIÆVAL BRAHMANIC PERIOD.

With the sudden outburst of Brahmanical power we find a corresponding change in the coinage, which, under these Brahmanist princes, now shows the distinct Brahmanical types of a humped bull and a four-armed goddess. Brahmanical temples and sculptures now appear in great numbers, and all the prevailing styles of art, in architecture, sculpture, and numismatics, are chiefly devoted to the illustrations of Brahmanism. I am therefore induced to call this the *Brahmanical period;* and as no undoubted Brahmanist temples have yet been found of an earlier date than the end of the seventh, or the beginning of the eighth century, the title of MEDIÆVAL BRAHMANIC *period* would appear to be especially appropriate. It is true that Buddhism still continued to flourish in several parts of India; but there seems good reason to believe that it had already begun to decline on the death of Harsha Varddhana in A. D. 648, and that few, if any, new buildings of importance were erected by the Buddhists after the revival of Brahmanical power about the beginning of the eighth century. The close of the *Mediæval Brahmanic* period I would assign to the end of the twelfth century, or about A. D. 1200, when the Muhammadans overran the valley of the Ganges, and got possession of the ancient kingdoms of Delhi, Kanauj, and

Gaur. To this period of five centuries belongs the greater number of the existing temples of Northern India, comprising most of the temples in Kashmir, Râjputana, Khajurâho, and Orissa. To the latter half of this period also belong a large number of the temples of the Jain religion. It is true that Jainism had existed for many centuries previous to this time; but I know of no Jain temples now remaining of a date earlier than 900 A. D., although there are numerous remains of Jain sculpture which belong to the early centuries of the Christian era, and some even to the first century before Christ.

6.—Modern Brahmanic Period.

At the end of the twelfth century, the sudden close of Hindu power put an immediate stop to the erection of new buildings in the rich provinces of the valley of the Ganges; but in the less accessible parts of India to the south of the Jumna, in Râjputana and in Bundelkhand, some fine temples arose, which are not unworthy of comparison with the stately structures of the more fortunate period which preceded the Muhammadan conquest. Of these perhaps the most remarkable is the noble pillar of victory erected by Râna Kumbho in *Chitor*. At Lahôr and Thanesar, at Mathura and Kanoj, at Banâras and Jaunpur, at Gaya and Bihâr, the combined intolerance and rapacity of the Musalmans were directed against the principal temples, *all* of which were destroyed or desecrated, and therefore left to fall into ruin, and the idols were either broken or carried away to Delhi to be trodden under the feet of the conquerors. Throughout the valley of the Ganges, from Thanesar to Bihâr, the most famous, and therefore the finest, of the Hindu temples were ruthlessly overthrown, partly to persecute the idolater, and partly to furnish cheap materials for mosques. Of the places which escaped or resisted the fierce onslaughts of Muhammad bin Sâm and Iltitmish, some fell before the ruthless hand of Ala-ud-din Khilji, and the remainder were swept away by the vindictive bigotry of Sikandar Ludi. During the Pathân rule, therefore, we can scarcely hope to meet with any fine examples of Hindu art in Northern India. We possess, however, the magnificent palace of Mân Singh at Gwalior, which escaped destruction only by the death of Sikandar Ludi during the siege of the fortress, which he

undertook for the express purpose of overthrowing the buildings of the infidels. For the modern period of Hindu art we must, therefore, look to the buildings which have been erected during the rule of the Mughals, and chiefly during the tolerant reign of Akbar. For we know that a second raid against the Hindu temples was begun by the personal spite of Jahângir, and completed by the narrow-minded bigotry of Aurangzib.

The former destroyed the great temple of Visveswara built by Râja Mân Singh at Banâras at a cost of 36 lakhs of rupees, and built the Jâmi Masjid on its site. The latter destroyed the magnificent temple of Kesava Rai at Mathura, which Tavernier describes as one of the four great temples of India, and built the Jâmi Masjid on its site. He also desecrated the fine temple built by Mân Singh at Brindâban, and threw down the temple of Beni Mâdho at Banâras, to get a site for the small masjid with tall slender minars, which is so conspicuous an object on the Ganges. Many of the Hindu buildings of this period, as might be expected, show strong signs of the influence of Muhammadan art, more especially in the use of radiating domes and arches. Thus Mân Singh's temple at Brindâban is vaulted, and his temple of Visveswara at Banâras, now turned into a masjid, has both radiating arches and domes.

MUHAMMADAN ARCHITECTURE.

With the Musalman occupation of the valley of the Ganges in the end of the twelfth century, we enter upon an entirely new phase of Indian art, in the stately edifices of the first Muhammadan rulers of India. Of the style which prevailed during the sway of the Ghaznavi Princes in the Panjâb, we are at present entirely ignorant, but I have strong hopes that during the next working season we may find some remains of that early period.

The existing Muhammadan buildings are so numerous and so different, and present so many varieties of form and ornament, that the common descriptions of them, as either *Pathan* or *Mughal*, are quite insufficient to mark the extremely diverse styles which prevailed at different periods. After a careful study of the Muhammadan buildings at Delhi, Bedaun, Ajmer, Mathura, and Agra in North-Western India, at Multan and Lahôr in the Panjâb, at

Koil, Etawa, Kanoj, Allahâbad, Jaunpur, and Banâras in the central Gangetic valley, and at Gaur, the two Pânduas, Sunârgaon, and Bikrampur in Bengal, I have come to the conclusion that the architecture of the Pathân period may be sufficiently described in six different groups or sections, and that of the Mughal period in two sections. These eight different groups I would distinguish by the following names, as descriptive of the periods during which they flourished.

1.—Ghori Pathan.

This section might also be named the *Indo-Pathan*, as its most distinctive characteristic is the use of the corbelled or overlapping arch of the Hindus. Few temples of this period now remain; but they comprise some of the finest and most magnificent specimens of the Muhammadan architecture of India. It is not known exactly when the true radiating arch was introduced; but it must have been adopted at an early date, as soon as the supply of ready-dressed stone beams from the desecrated temples of the Hindus failed. The finest specimens of this style are the great mosques of Kutb-ud-din at Delhi and Ajmer, the gateway of the Jâmi Musjid at Bedaun, and the tombs of Iltitmish and his son Sultân G. at Delhi. There are no buildings now existing of the latter half of the Ghori rule, during the long reign of Balban and his son Kaikobâd. But the ruined tomb which is assigned to Balban has radiating arches, and I presume, therefore, that the Indian overlapping arch had already fallen into disuse during the peaceful reign of Naser-ud-din Mahmud, the youngest son of Iltitmish.

2.—Khilji Pathan.

This section of the early Muhammadan architecture of India, which came into use during the rule of the Khilji dynasty, is principally distinguished by the use of horse-shoe arches, which are generally ornamented with very rich cusps. The principal specimens of this style are the Alâi-Darwâza and Khizri Masjid at Delhi, and the great Idgah at Râpri, all of which were built during the prosperous reign of Ala-ud-din Khilji. Of these, the finest example is the Alâi-Darwâza, or southern gateway of the Kutb enclosure at Delhi, which is one of the most richly decorated buildings in India.

3.—TUGHLAK PATHAN.

The chief characteristics of this style are the great slope and extreme thickness of the walls. These peculiarities first appear in the tomb of the Saint Rukn-ud-daolah in Multan, which is said to have been built by Tughlak himself, while Governor of the Southern Panjâb, and in the tomb of Tughlak at Delhi, which was built by his son Muhammad. Another specimen of the same style is the tomb of Kabîr-ud-din Auliya at Delhi, now called *Lâl Gumbaz*. Both of these Delhi tombs are distinguished by sloping walls, cusped arches, and panelling with white marble frames. The Multan tomb is of red brick, ornamented with panels of glazed tile traceries of dark-blue, light-blue and white in many elaborate and intricate patterns. During the latter half of the Tughlak rule, the cusped arches and white marble panels fell into disuse, and the numerous examples of this period which were built during the long reign of Firuz Tughlak have preserved nothing of the style except the massive sloping walls. Of this later period the most characteristic specimens are the Khirki and Kalân Masjids at Delhi, which were built by Khan Jahân, the minister of Firuz; the Jâmi Masjid and Kotila of Firuzabad, which were built by Firuz himself, and the tomb of Firuz, which was erected by his son shortly after his death. All of these buildings show remains of a thick coat of plaster, which was no doubt originally panelled and painted of divers colours.

4.—AFGHAN.

During the rule of the Afghan dynasties of *Ludi* and *Sûr* the sloping walls of their predecessors were altogether discarded, and the buildings of Sikandar *Ludi* and Shir Shah *Sûr* are at once distinguished from those of the Tughlaks by their perpendicular walls. Colour was extensively employed for both inside and outside decorations, especially in the grounds or hollows of the stucco medallions and arabesque traceries. Glazed tiles were also used, but sparingly at first, for borders and small panels. Of this earlier period, the best specimens are the tomb of Bahlol Ludi near Chirâgh-Delhi, the Jâmi Masjid of Sikandar Ludi's time at Khairpur, and the octagonal tomb at old Khairpur, assigned to Sikandar himself. To this class also belong the two octagonal tombs at Mubârakpur-Kotila and Khairpur, which Sayid Ahmad has assigned

to the two Sayid kings, Mubârak and Muhammad bin Farid. All these three tombs are of the same size, with perpendicular walls and sloping buttresses, and are so exactly alike that they would certainly seem to belong to the same period. If Sayid Ahmad's assignment is correct, the introduction of this style of building must be thrown back about 15 years to A. D. 1435 instead of 1450. Afterwards, during the reign of the Sûr family, the stucco ornamentation was given up, and a much richer and more lasting effect was obtained by the use of different coloured stones,—red, white, grey and black. To this period belong the great masjid in the fort of Indrpat, called *Kîla-Kona*, the *Jamâli Masjid* near the Kutb Minar, and the *Moth-ki-Masjid* in old Delhi. For other buildings of this style, we have the well known tombs of Shir Shah and his father Husen Khan at Sassarâm, and the two gateways called the Delhi Darwâza and Lâl Darwâza of Shir Shah's new city of Delhi.

5.—Bengali Pathan.

The style of the Muhammadan buildings of Bengal differs so widely from that of Northern India, that it must be placed in a separate section by itself. As far as I am aware, the earliest Muhammadan buildings of Bengal belong to the reign of Sikandar, the son of Shams-ud-din Iliâs, and the latest to Nusrat Shah, the son of Ala-ud-din Husen, thus covering a period of 180 years, from 1350 to 1530 A. D. Most of the Bengali buildings are of brick, and the poorness of the material seems to have cramped the genius of the architects, as their designs are always tame and feeble, and their ornamentation is confined to an endless and monotonous repetition of a multiplicity of petty details. The oldest masjids are simply long brick barns with roofs supported on Hindu stone pillars, and with a dreary length of wall outside, unbroken by minars or recessed archways. The great masjid of Sikandar at Hazrat Pandua, which was built in A. H. 770, or A. D. 1368, is the finest and largest example of this style. Smaller specimens may be seen at Bihâr and at Pandua near Hughli. The profuse employment of glazed tiles gave variety of colour, but added nothing to the tame outlines and feeble mouldings of the original brick designs. The patterns of the glazed tiles also, being made up of a multiplicity of little parts of blue and white, are generally poor and ineffect-

ive. Most of the glazed tile buildings are now mere ruins; but the most elaborate specimen of this class, the *Lattan Masjid* at Gaur, still exists; and though the whole of the roof, walls, and floor of the interior are covered with various coloured tiles, yet the effect is heavy and disappointing, and quite incommensurable with the great cost and labour which must have been expended upon it.

The tombs follow the same style as the masjids, but their comparatively small size is more favourable to the petty style of Bengal ornamentation; and the single great dome which invariably crowns the square mass of the building gives it a boldness and dignity which are entirely wanting in the masjid. The finest examples of the Bengali tomb are the great brick mausoleum of Jalâl-ud-din Muhammad at Hazrat Pandua, and a large nameless tomb, now called the "Jail," just inside the eastern gateway of the citadel of Gaur.

The chief peculiarity of the Bengali or Purbbi style is the use of walls with curved tops, the centre of the wall being higher than its ends. The cornice mouldings follow the curve, and though the effect is strange, it is not unpleasing. This practice was afterwards adopted for the long side vaults of the masjids, the crest of the vault having the same rising curve as the walls from which it springs.

This innovation was occasionally adopted by the later Mughals in North-West India, as in the Jâmi Masjid at Koil, and in the palaces of Shâh Jahân at Agra and Delhi.

6.—Jaunpuri Pathan.

The style of buildings adopted by the Muhammadan kings of Jaunpur seems to be formed by a fusion of those of the Ghori Pathâns and Khilji Pathâns of Delhi. In both of the fine mosques of Kutb-ud-din Aibeg at Delhi and Ajmer, the great central arch rises high in front of the main dome. All the masjids of the Sharki Pathân kings have the same peculiarity, with the addition of the fretted or cusped arches of the Khilji Pathâns. The finest example of this style is the Atâla Masjid of Ibrahim Sharki at Jaunpur, and the largest is the great Jâmi Masjid of Husen Sharki at Jaunpur. Other examples are the Arhai Kangra Masjid at Banâras, the Jâmi Masjids at Etâwa and Kanauj, and the Lâl Darwâza and Zanziri Masjids at Jaunpur.

Although the power of the Sharki kings lasted rather less than a century, yet the richness and extent of the

country over which they ruled, from Kanauj to Bihâr, and from Baraich to Kâlpi, yielded them greater wealth than the united revenues of the Princes of Bengal and Delhi, and thus enabled them to erect many stately and magnificent masjids, which are almost the only existing monuments of Muhammadan rule in Upper India during the fifteenth century. We have no certain remains of the petty Sayid kings of Delhi in the first half of the century, and nothing of Bahlol Ludi save his tomb, which was built by his son Sikandar near the close of the century. The masjids of the Sharki kings of Jaunpur thus fill a very important gap in the history of the Pathân architecture of Northern India, between the last buildings of the Tughlaks and the earliest specimens of the Afghans. They are the latest examples in which the lofty front arch, towering high above the main dome, forms the principal point of the building. There are no existing contemporary structures of Bahlol Ludi; but in all the masjids of Sikandar Ludi that I have seen, the front wall is only slightly elevated in the centre, while the middle dome rises high above the rest of the building.

7.—Early Mughal.

To this period I refer all the buildings erected during the reigns of Akbar and Jahângir, from A. D. 1554 to 1628. During this time there was a remarkable return of Hindu influence in the domestic architecture, as may be seen in the overlapping arches and curious vaulted roofs of the palace of Akbar at Fatehpur Sikri, and of Jahângir in the fort of Agra. The tomb of Adham Khan at Delhi belongs to the preceding Afghan style; but the tomb of Humâyun gives the earliest specimen of the tall Persian dome, which forms the principal feature in all the architecture of the Mughals of India. A peculiar characteristic of this period was the more general use of glazed tiles, which were now applied to the whole roof, as in the corner cupolas of Humâyun's tomb at Delhi, and in the main domes of Muhammad Ghaus's tomb at Gwalior, of Shamsi Tabrez at Multan, and of the Lila Burj at Delhi.

8.—Late Mughal.

The chief characteristic of the later Mughal architecture is the more lavish use of ornament, which was now employed

to cover the whole building, both inside and outside. The ornamentation consisted of mosaic patterns in various coloured stones, or in glazed tiles. The finest specimens of the former kind of work are the tombs of Itimâd-ud-Daolah at Agra and of Jahângir at Lahôr. Of the latter, the best examples are the palace of Jahângir, which was finished by Shah Jahân; the tomb of Asaf-ud-Daolah and the masjid of Wazir Khan, all at Lahôr; the wall of Bakhtiâr-ud-din Kâki's tomb at Delhi; the tomb called Chini-kâ-Roza at Agra, and the masjid of Abd-un-Nabi at Mathura. But the varied richness and delicate beauty of Indian inlaid work culminated in the black ground mosaics of Shah Jahân's palace at Delhi and in the white ground mosaics of the tomb of his queen, Mumtâz Mahal, at Agra, and of the Shish Mahal at Lahôr.

MATHURA.

In my account of the Archæological remains at Mathura, given in my Report for 1862-63, the objects described were all discovered either in the ruins around the Katrâ, or in the great mound at the south side of the jail. A few years ago, some sculptures were found by men digging for bricks in another mound called *Kankâli Tîla*, about half a mile due south from the *Katrâ*; and just two years ago, a gold relic casket and a copper celt were found in one of the *Chaubâra* mounds, one mile and a quarter to the south-west of the Katrâ. The excavation of the jail mound, which furnished so many inscribed bases of columns and sculptured pillars of Buddhist railings, was carefully continued by the late Mr. Harding, Magistrate of Mathura, without any further results. He also dug a trench right across the Kankâli mound from north to south, which yielded some mutilated Buddhist statues, both life-size and colossal.

I visited Mathura in March 1871, and again in November. On the first visit I spent six days in making a complete search through all the fields and gardens outside the city, and more particularly in the neighbourhood of the Katrâ and Kankâli mounds. On the latter visit I spent twelve days in making excavations in the Kankâli and Chaubâra mounds, and in searching the country around to a distance of several miles. The result of all these explorations was very successful, as I discovered a number of very old and

valuable inscriptions of the Indo-Scythian kings, Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vâsu Deva, most of them dated at different periods from the year 5 to 98 Samvat. I was also fortunate enough to discover an elephant capital of the time of Huvishka, with several very interesting sculptured pillars of Buddhist railings of large size, and a few portions of their rails. A number of rails of smaller size had previously been found by Mr. F. S. Growse, who kindly pointed them out to me, as well as the several sculptures which had been discovered by the different explorations of Mr. Harding and himself.

The great antiquity of these mounds of ruins is proved by the frequent discovery in them of coins of the Indo-Grecian Princes of Kabul and the Panjâb. At various times during the last fourteen years, I have received coins of Apollodotus and Menander, both in silver and copper, including a didrachma of the latter prince. On my last visit I obtained two copper coins of Apollodotus and two silver coins, one being of Antimachus and the other of Straton. The Antimachus was extracted from the Ambarikha mound to the north of the city. At the same time, also, I got a copper coin with the name of *Upâtikya* in well executed Asoka characters.

The accompanying map* shows the positions of all these different mounds; and in the fifteen plates which follow,† I have given drawings of the most interesting objects that were discovered during my explorations, which I will now describe.

The Katrâ mound, as its name implies, was formerly a market place. It is a large brick-walled enclosure like a serai, 804 feet in length by 653 feet in breadth, with houses on all four sides, now occupied by weavers. In the very midst of this square stands the Jâmi Masjid on a raised terrace, about 30 feet in height, which is approached by two flights of steps,—the lower one of 34 steps and the upper of 10 steps. This mosque, which is 172 feet long and 66 feet broad, is a standing monument of the persecuting bigotry of Aurangzib. On this site stood the great Hindu temple of Kesava Rai, which Tavernier saw in the beginning of Aurangzib's reign, apparently about A. D. 1659, and which he describes as very magnificent, adding

* Plate I. † Plates II to XVI.

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that it ranked next after the temples of Jagannâth and Banâras.*

My first discovery of Buddhist remains in Mathura was made at the Katrâ, where I found a broken Buddhist railing pillar, with the figure of Mâyâ Devi standing under the sâl tree.† At the same time, also, I found an inscription of the Gupta dynasty, giving the well known genealogy from Sri-Gupta, the founder, down to Samudra Gupta, where the stone is unfortunately broken off.‡ Here, in 1862, I found built into the wall of a well one of the peculiar curved architraves of a Buddhist gateway, which are now well known from the magnificent examples at Sânchi. I got also an inscription on the base of a statue of "Sakya Bhikshu," dated in the Samvat year 281, or A. D. 224, in which mention is made of the *Yasa Vihâra* or "splendid monastery," which would therefore appear to have been the name of the Buddhist establishment which once existed on the site of the present *Katrâ.*§

At the back or west side of the *Katrâ*, and on the same mound, stands the village of Malpura, to the south of which is the *Pothra Kûnd.* In the streets of the village and about the tank are several broken statues; but the most interesting remains are some eight or ten lion statues of different sizes, from 2 to 3 feet in height. They are all represented in pairs, one having the left and the other having the right foot advanced, as if intended for the two side ornaments of a gateway, just as we know them to have been used as the entrances to the topes at Dharanikota near Amaravati. The attitude is always the same, but the execution varies very much, some of the statues being highly finished, whilst others are comparatively rough. The accompanying example is taken from one of the lions in the Katrâ ruins at Malpura.‖

In 1853, inside the Katrâ square, I found two large capitals of columns, one of them being no less than 3 feet in diameter, with a shaft of 23 inches diameter, of which I also discovered a separate piece one foot in height.¶ A fragment of the larger one is still to be seen lying inside the Katrâ gateway, but the smaller capital had disappeared

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* Travels, Part II, Book 3, Chap. 12. French edition.

† Plate XII, fig. B. ‡ Plate XVI, No. 24. § Plate XVI, No. 23.

‖ See upper figure of Plate II. ¶ See Plate IV, figs. A and B.

before 1862. Of their age I cannot speak with certainty, as the Mathura sculptures do not represent any pillars with the same kinds of capitals. The reeded or convex fluted style of ornamentation prevailed from the time of Asoka to the close of the Gupta period, but the abrupt termination of the fluted portion in this Mathura example I have not seen elsewhere. I think that the smaller capital A is the earlier of the two, and that it most probably belongs to the Indo-Scythian period, while the larger capital B may be assigned to the Gupta period.

The discoveries made in the jail mound have been described in my report of 1862-63,* and as nothing of any importance has since been found there, although it was very completely excavated by the late Mr. Harding, Magistrate of Mathura, I will merely note its principal inscriptions, which are reproduced in the accompanying plates,† for the purpose of bringing together for more easy reference the whole of the important records which have been given to us by the ruined mounds of Mathura. Of these, the jail mound yielded the following:—

No.	1	Plate XIII,	of the Satrap Saudâsa.
„	5	do.,	of King Kanishka.
„	11	Plate XIV,	of Samvat 47.
„	12	do.,	of King Huvishka.
„	13	do.,	of Samvat 47.
„	14	do.,	of do.
„	8	Plate XV,	of King Vâsu Deva.
„	22	Plate XVI,	of Samvat 135.

The *Chaubâra* mounds are situated just one mile and a half to the south-west of the city of Mathura, measured from the gateway of the Katrâ. In 1869 the line of a new road to Sunag (or Sonk) being carried through the small mound marked D in the map‡ disclosed a Buddhist relic chamber, in which was found a small golden casket, now in the possession of Mr. F. S. Growse, C. S. At the same time two flat pieces of copper were found, of which I have a careful drawing made by Mr. A. C. L. Carlleyle. These were thought to have been a copper-plate inscription much damaged; but on putting the two together, as shown in

* Archæological Survey of India, Vol. I., p. 239.
† Plates XIII, XIV, XV, and XVI.
‡ Plate I.

Plate II,* it would appear much more probable that they must have formed a native spade or *phaora*, such as we now call a celt. The sketch in the plate is exactly one-fourth of the full linear dimensions of the original, or one-sixteenth of its square surface.

As I found on enquiry that all the Chaubâra mounds yielded broken stones and fragments of statues, I set parties of men to make some trial excavations in each mound.

In the middle of mound A I sank a well 10 feet in diameter, in which at a depth of 9 feet the workmen reached a solid mass of large unburnt bricks laid in regular courses and faced with imperfectly burnt well-bricks of large size forming a curved exterior, which I at once judged to be a stupa of peculiar construction. The well-bricks were $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad and 3 inches thick, with a convex curve of $23\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length and a concave curve of 20 inches. By putting several of these together, I calculated that the stupa was about 16 feet in diameter. I therefore directed the workmen to drive a gallery through the unburnt bricks for 10 feet in length, and to carry it down to the surface level of the outside ground at a depth of $13\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the top of the mound. These instructions were followed, and the result was the discovery of a steatite relic casket of the usual shape exactly on the ground level and at a distance of $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the outside of the curve. The stupa was therefore 17 feet in diameter. No trace of a chamber was observed; but as the whole mass of unburnt bricks was quite wet, it is probable that the original chamber had subsided and buried the relic casket in a mass of damp earth. The casket was struck on the side by one of the workmen, who picked up the lower half of it, while the lid was found amongst the earth collected in a basket ready to be drawn up. A careful and minute search was made for the contents of the casket, but without success. Indeed, the objects contained in these little caskets are always so small that I could scarcely expect to find them. The unburnt bricks were first met with at a depth of 5 feet from the top of the mound, or at $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet above the ground, which agrees exactly with the half diameter of the circle.

The Chaubâra mound, marked B in the map, is much larger than the others, although only one portion of it

* Plate II, Chaubâra Tila, D.

reaches the same height. Having made several superficial excavations without any result, I directed two long trenches to be dug at right angles across the south-west portion of the mound. But the surface had been disturbed for centuries by the plough, and every stone had been carried away save one, which was too heavy to be easily moved. This one I found, and it proved to be one of the most interesting discoveries made at Mathura. It was the full sized capital of a large pillar, 3 feet in length by 2 in breadth and 2 in height. The capital is formed by four recumbent animals placed at the four angles. Two of them are winged lions, and the others winged bulls with human heads, adorned with ram's horns and ears.* The design of the work is free and bold, but the execution is rather hard and conventional. Similar capitals are represented in the small bas-reliefs of the sculptures, not only at Mathura, but also at Sanchi and Gaya; but this is the first full-size capital of this curious and interesting design that has yet been discovered. Mound B would probably repay further excavation.

In the middle of the Chaubâra mound, marked C in the map, I sank a large shaft, from which I extracted a colossal head 13 inches across the forehead, with cropped hair under a skull cap surmounted by a top-knot. It was 14 inches in height from the chin to the top of the head. The lobes of the ears were long and pendulous, and pierced with large holes, as is usual in statues of Buddha.

Further excavation yielded the right knee of a squatted colossal draped figure, with the left foot resting on the calf of the leg.

The toes were 8 inches across. I conclude that this head and knee formed portions of a colossal statue of Buddha about twice the size of life. At the foot of the mound was discovered a broken squatted statue draped over the left shoulder, and with the left hand resting on the left knee. As the right hand was not resting in the lap, it must have been raised in the attitude of teaching.

The Chaubâra mounds A, C, and D are therefore certainly Buddhist, and from small fragments found about B I infer that it also was Buddhist.

The *Chaurâsi* mounds are situated just one mile to the west of the Katrâ, and about the same distance to the north

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* Plate III.

of the Chaubâra mounds. There are three distinct large masses, of which the largest to the north is about 350 feet square and from 15 to 20 feet in height, with a lower portion on the south-west of nearly equal size, but less height. On the upper level stands a large Jain temple dedicated to Jambu Swâmî (or Pârasnâth) surrounded by an enclosure 150 feet square. An annual fair is held at this place, beginning on the 6th of the dark half of Kârtik (October), which lasts for six days. There are no visible remains of antiquity, but the site is undoubtedly old.

The second Chaurâsi mound is situated 500 feet to the south-east of the Jain temple, and is about 300 feet long by 200 feet broad.

The third Chaurâsi mound is situated to the south-west of the Jain temple, at a distance of about 1,200 feet. It is less extensive, but more lofty, being not less than 30 feet in height.

As the people reported that no stones were found in these mounds, I gave up my intention of exploring them.

The Kankâli Tila has been almost as prolific as the jail mound, both in sculptures and inscriptions, all of which, with one solitary exception of a Brahmanical female figure with ten arms, are pure Jain monuments. This mound is 400 feet in length from west to east, and nearly 300 feet in breadth, with a mean height of 10 or 12 feet above the fields.

At the eastern end it rises to a height of 25 feet, with a breadth of 60 feet square at top, and about 150 square at base. This higher portion has been repeatedly burrowed for bricks, and at present appears to be composed chiefly of earth, whereas the mass of the lower mound consists of stones and earth with remains of brick walls and pavements, of which several are of a later date than the stone fragments.

The excavations in the Kankâli mound have yielded several colossal and life-size statues, both male and female, but all more or less mutilated. One of the most perfect is shown in Plate XI, Fig. D. Several heads were also discovered, but I found it quite impossible to determine whether any one of them belonged to this particular statue. The style of close-fitting costume is very peculiar, and will be referred to again. Fig. A of the same plate is a fragment of a colossal female statue, which shows the curious bead girdle worn by the Indian women for some centuries both before and after the Christian era.

In November last I began my excavations along the whole of the western end of the mound, throwing the earth behind as the work advanced towards the east. The result was very satisfactory, as I was rewarded by the discovery of many broken statues of the Jain hierarchs, of which several were inscribed, of pillars and rails, as well as of brick walls and pavements, which prove that this must have been the site of some important Jain buildings during the rule of the Indo-Scythians, both before and after the Christian era.

A careful search in the neighbourhood of this mound brought to light a number of very interesting stone remains which had been disinterred at different times by the native diggers in search of bricks. One of these is a large bell capital of a pillar surmounted by an elephant and inscribed with the name of King Huvishka and the date of Samvat 39.* The height of the capital is 1 foot 9¼ inches, and of the elephant 2 feet 4¾ inches.

The pedestal or abacus is oblong, 2 feet 4 inches by 1 foot 3½ inches, to accommodate the figure of the elephant. The trunk of the animal is broken off, but the rest is nearly perfect, although of very coarse and even rude workmanship.

A more important discovery for the sake of ancient Indian art was that of no less than five large pillars of a Buddhist railing in an almost perfect state of preservation.† These were placed in a small dharmsâla near the Balbhadra tank, a short distance to the north of the Kankâli mound, and close by the Buteswar mound, in which it is believed that they were discovered.

A sixth pillar of the same style and size is now in the Calcutta Museum, having been presented by the late Mr. Harding, of the Civil Service, when Magistrate of Mathura.‡ There are also two broken pillars of the same railing now in the Museum of Agra, which I found in 1860. The size varies from 11 to 12 inches in breadth, and from 6 to 7½ inches in thickness, with a height of 5 *feet*. The principal face of each pillar bears a nearly naked female figure, about half life-size, standing on a kneeling grotesque figure. Above each is represented a love scene, with half-length figures of a man and woman behind a balcony formed of a Buddhist railing.

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* Plate V. It was found in Silchand's garden.

† Plate VI. ‡ Plate VII.

The back of each pillar is divided into three compartments, each representing a different scene, either of domestic or religious life. In the specimen which I have selected as an example,* I understand the three compartments to form one connected storey, representing a new version of the well known legend of the attempt to destroy Buddha by a *mast* or mad elephant. In the uppermost compartment the tempter, with joined hands, is soliciting Buddha to go forth to what he hopes and believes will be his certain destruction. In the middle compartment Buddha is seen meeting the elephant, which kneels down to do homage to the great teacher, to the evident surprise of the tempter and of several spectators in the buildings above them. In the lowest compartment the legend is completed by the punishment of the tempter, who is himself seized and killed by the enraged elephant.

There is another example of these Buddhist railing pillars now in the Calcutta Museum, which was sent from Mathura by Mr. Harding† along with the larger pillar just described. The subject on the principal face is one of the same nearly naked females standing on a kneeling grotesque figure with a very large head. Above there is a small niche, intended either for a figure of Buddha or to hold a light for illumination. This has been omitted in the plate for want of room.

On the Buteswar mound, in front of the entrance to the temple, Mr. Growse and I discovered a single specimen of a very large railing pillar 18½ inches broad and 12 inches thick, with a height of 7 feet. On the principal face of this pillar there is another nearly nude female standing under an umbrella. Above there is a comic scene between two lions and two monkeys. To the left a lion is seen standing on his hind legs, with his forepaws joined in supplication before a monkey seated on a *morha*. On the right another seated monkey is represented pulling the ears of a young lion. The socket holes of this pillar for the reception of rails are 17½ inches in length, which must also have been the depth of the rails themselves, On the side of the rail is engraved the Arian letter *h*, which was the figure for 100 in use at Mathura during the Indo-Scythian period. There must, therefore, have been no less than 100 of these large

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* Plate VII. † Plate XI, fig. B.

railing pillars, which, with their rails, would represent a length of not less than 300 feet.

Numerous smaller railing pillars of exactly the same style were amongst the early discoveries in the jail mound, and an equal number may be found scattered about different parts of Mathura. Most of them average from 6½ to 7½ inches in breadth, with a height of 2 feet 9 inches, but a few are of smaller dimensions. On the principal faces of these pillars both men and women are represented. Several of the latter are nearly nude, and two representations of Mâyâ Devi, the mother of Buddha, standing under the sâl tree, have the upper half apparently unclothed. The men are clothed in tunics. Two of these small pillars from the jail mound are inscribed with the numbers 118 and 129.* As specimens of art, these Mathura statues, both male and female, appear to me to be much superior to the great mass of Indian sculptures. The attitudes are in general easy and natural, and this is more especially the case with the statue marked B in Plate XI. The pose of this figure is remarkable for the unconstrained freedom of both limbs and body, which I take to represent the temporary rest of a dancing girl. The difficult position of her arms, with the hands joined behind the head, appears to me to be treated with singular boldness and truth.

The positions of the other female figures in these Mathura pillars are only slightly varied; but there is a sense of humour exhibited in the statue marked E in Plate VI, where the woman is admiring herself in a metal mirror.

This power of delineating humour is still further displayed in the different love scenes which form the upper ornaments of the pillars—from gushing demonstrativeness to supercilious disregard—as shown on the pillars marked A and E in Plate VI.

The statue marked C in Plate XI, which was discovered in the jail mound, has already been described in a former report.† But I have there erroneously described the action of the right hand as holding up a part of the dress, instead of a small bunch of flowers. This figure is differently proportioned from those of the dancing girls on the railing pillars, the hips being only two-thirds broader than the waist,

* Journal, Royal Asiatic Society, new series, Vol. V, Plate 3 of Mathura inscriptions, figs. 30 and 31.

† Archæological Survey, India, Vol. I, p. 240, and Plate XL.

while in figure B of the same plate the hips are twice the breadth of the waist, and in all the six figures in Plates VI and VII they are nearly twice and a half times the breadth. I have previously described this statue as most probably that of a dancing girl, but it possesses a quietness and modesty which contrasts strongly with the unabashed assurance of the smirking nudities on the railing pillars. I notice also that this statue wears an additional flat belt or girdle, such as is worn by men of rank and holy personages. I therefore doubt very much whether she is intended to represent a dancing girl, but I am unable to offer any other suggestion.

Since my former report on Mathura was reprinted, I have made many interesting discoveries of the remains of different Buddhist railings, which will add very materially to our knowledge of Buddhist architecture. A Buddhist railing consists of a row of stone pillars joined together by convex bars or rails of stone, and covered by a continuous architrave or coping. It was used to form either square or circular enclosures around stupas and temples or trees and pillars, and even smaller erections, such as stone umbrellas and other objects.* At first the whole was quite plain, of which the railing round the great Sânchi stupa is the finest example. Gradually ornament was introduced, at first in the shape of circular bosses of flowers, which soon gave way to stupas and trees, then to animals and human figures, and afterwards to scenes both religious and social. In Mathura and Kosâmbi, and in a single instance at Buddha Gaya, the medallions on one side gave place to a single large figure which occupied the whole face of the pillar, as shown in the examples of the figures of dancing girls on the Mathura pillars, which I have just described.

The usual arrangement of the medallions on the pillars was to place a half medallion at top and another at bottom, with either one or two complete medallions at equal distances. But this arrangement is departed from in the single instance given in Plate VIII, Fig. D, where the full medallions are immediately attached to the half medallions, leaving the middle space blank.

The railing pillars were at first square in section, having exactly the same breadth and thickness. This rule is con-

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* See Archæological Survey of India, Vol. I, Plate IX, for several examples of Buddhist railings around stupas, trees, and umbrellas.

stant in all the Bhilsa and Buddha Gaya railings, which, as we know from the alphabetical characters of their inscriptions, must date from the age of Asoka, or about 250 B. C. In the Mathura railings, which are not less than two centuries later, as they belong to the period of the first Indo-Scythian Princes, the thickness of the pillars is reduced to two-thirds of the breadth, a proportion which is maintained through all the sizes from 18 inches to $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in breadth. The height varies from $4\frac{1}{4}$ to 5 times the breadth, but the latter is the more common proportion.

The stone bars or rails, which are convex on both faces, are formed by two opposite circular segments. The thickness in the middle is generally one-fourth of their own breadth, which is the same as that of the pillars. The intervals between the rails vary from $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{3}$ of their breadth. Their length, which is the inter-columniation or distance between the pillars, is the only element that seems to have been subject to no fixed rules. At Sânchi the inter-columniation is $1\frac{1}{8}$; at Mathura it varies from $1\frac{1}{4}$ to $1\frac{3}{4}$; and it reaches its maximum at Gaya, where it averages $2\frac{1}{2}$ breadths. The explanation of these differences may perhaps be found in the varying prices of the stone. Where the material was on the spot, as at Sânchi, the extra cost of the additional pillars required for the short inter-columniations was not of much importance. At Mathura, where the stone had to be obtained from a distance of 30 miles in the quarries of Rupbâs and Sikri, the inter-columniation was made one-half greater; while at Gaya, where the sandstone had to be brought from a distance of several hundred miles, the inter-columniation was still further increased to $2\frac{1}{2}$ breadths.

In the ornamentation of the bosses or medallions the choice of subjects seems to have been left entirely to the artist. Here, accordingly, we see him displaying his taste in the variety of his flowers, or letting his fancy revel almost wildly in the creation of fabulous animals. In Plate IX we see fish-tailed lions, both with and without wings;* a crocodile or *magar*, and an alligator or *gariâl*, each with only two feet;† and an antelope and an elephant of ordinary mould. As I have found similar, and even more wildly fanciful, representations of fabulous animals at Gaya,‡ it would seem that they

* Plate IX, figs. A, B, C, and D.
† Plate IX, figs. F and G.
‡ Plate IX, figs. E and H.

were a recognized and favourite style of ornamentation both before and after the Christian era.

In Plate X I have given five examples of Buddhist symbols from these rail bosses, of which A and D are found upon the ancient coins of Taxila and Ujain, while E forms the central symbol of the two Sânchi necklaces.*

The lotus flowers in Plate X are taken from pillars as well as rails. The specimens F and G are taken from rails of the exact size required for the six large pillars shown in Plates VI and VII, and, as they were found not far from where the pillars were set up, it is very probable that they may have belonged to the same railing.

Of the architraves or coping stones which covered the lines of pillars, very few specimens have been found at Mathura, and these are of only three kinds, all of which are represented in Plate VIII. These examples show the same strict adherence to stereotyped forms, as we see in the pillars and rails whether at Sânchi, at Mathura, at Kosâmbi, at Bithâ, or at Gaya, where the same forms are rigidly preserved throughout. This general uniformity of the architecture of the Buddhists, both in design and in detail, shows a wide-spread organization which was probably due to the zealous propagation of their religion by missionary monks from the time of Asoka to that of Kanishka and his successors.

The coping stone of the Buddhist railings is always rounded at the top, with a depth somewhat greater than its breadth. At Sânchi all the copings are quite plain, and so also is a single specimen found at Bithâ, as well as a small granite coping stone discovered at Gaya. All the three examples from Mathura, however, are richly ornamented—the middle specimen B on one side only, but the other two, A and C, on both sides.

The *dress* of the people is a point of much interest and importance, as the general style of most of the female figures has led to the opinion that at least certain classes of the women must have been in the usual habit of appearing in public almost naked. At first sight, the female figures on the pillars in Plates VI and VII, and Fig. B in Plate XI, would seem to be entirely naked, with the exception of bracelets and anklets and a broad bead girdle around the loins. But a closer and more minute examination reveals the fact

* Tree and Serpent Worship, Plate III, fig. 4.

that some of them, at least, must have on a petticoat, as its skirt is distinctly sculptured in front of the ankles.* See especially Figs. A and E of Plate VI, and the figure in Plate VII, as well as the separate female statue in Plate XI, Fig. C. In these instances, I think, there can be no doubt of the intention of the sculptor to indicate that the figures did actually wear clothing even down to their feet, although his ideas of art compelled him to display every part of their limbs and bodies as if they were really quite naked. In Figs. B, C, and D of Plate VI the skirts of the clothing do not appear in front of the ankles, and therefore I conclude that the sculptor's intention was to represent them actually naked. Indeed, the action of the girl in Fig. C seems to me to declare her own intention of exposing her person. It is for this reason that I consider all the nude and apparently nude females on these pillars to represent dancing girls posting themselves in various attitudes, some of them more or less immodest, during the intervals of the dance. I observe also that not one of these supposed dancing girls has a long necklace of pearls, such as is seen on Fig. C of Plate XI.

There is also another difference in the attirement of Fig. C of Plate XI, and that of the other female figures, which consists of a broad flat belt passing round the outside of the upper part of the bead girdle. This peculiar flat belt is shown on a large scale in Fig. A of Plate XI, which is taken from a fragment of a colossal female statue found in the Kankâli excavations. It is evidently tied in a double bow, and is apparently made of some costly material, which was worth embroidering. I notice that one of the ends is placed towards the right, while the other hangs down midway between the thighs. The same arrangement is observed in Fig. C, but in this case the middle end is much longer than the other.

It would appear that this broad stiff belt was perhaps a mark of distinction, as it is also worn by men of rank, such as Fig. D of Plate XI, who, as he holds a thunderbolt in his

* That some of the figures which at first sight may appear unclothed are not actually naked, I can give one notable instance in Fig. 1, Plate XLIII, of Fergusson's Tree and Serpent Worship, in which the two women kneeling before the wheel symbol are represented as completely naked. But this is not correct, as they are both clothed from the waist down to the knees, as may be seen in the plaster cast of this gateway now at the Kensington Museum. This is not a matter of opinion, as I am now writing with a large photograph of this scene lying before me, more than half the size of the original, which I owe to the kindness of Mr. H. Cole.

hand, must be either a royal personage or a god. It is worn also by another male figure on one of the Buddhist railings found in the jail mound, which, as it has a halo around, and an umbrella over, the head, is most probably intended for Buddha himself. At any rate, if not Buddha, he must be some royal personage. For these reasons I look upon the broad belt as a mark of dignity, whether it be worn by men or by women.

The common name for a woman's zone or girdle is *kánchi*, or the "binder," which would apply exactly to the flat belt of these sculptures. But the broad bead girdle of several strings must be the *saptaki*, or "seven-string" girdle of the old Hindus. In no instance, however, have I yet seen more than six strings; but I have no doubt that the most approved girdle of one of the fashionable dancing girls had the full complement of seven strings. Thin and scanty as the dress of the women appears to have been, that of the men was equally susceptible of displaying the minutest portions of the figure. I have given a specimen of the male costume in Plate XI, Fig. D, which is perhaps as suggestive of nudity as that of the women. Several figures similarly pourtrayed have been found at Mathura, and one at Nongarh near Lakhisarai in Bihâr. But as this last is made of the spotted red stone from the Rupbâs and Sikri quarries near Mathura, there is no proof that this peculiar style of display had extended beyond Mathura. The lower clothing seems to be the usual *dhoti* of the Hindu, with its ample folds hanging between the legs. But the sculptor's anxiety to conceal no portion of the figure has led him to pourtray the *dhoti* as if its folds hung behind the wearer instead of in front.

The ample clothing worn by both the male figures in the scenes sculptured on the back of the pillars in Plate VII shows that the style of male costume above described had not been universally adopted, if indeed it was not simply a conventional mode of the sculptor's art to display as much as possible of the human form.

In Plate XII I have given a few specimens of the style of wall ornamentations which appears to have been generally used in the great religious buildings at Mathura. Fig. A, Plate XII, shows the foliage and flowers of the sâl tree, which are very successfully treated. I had already identified the flower, long before I thought of the possibility of the artist's intention, by a reference to the well known subject

of Mâyâ Devi standing under the sâl tree, which she held with her right hand while she gave birth to Buddha. The subject is shown in Fig. B of Plate XII, where the treatment of the flower is exactly the same as in the larger example A, which leaves no doubt that this was intended for a representation of the sâl tree.

The border on the left hand of Fig. C of Plate XII is an evident representation of a vine with grapes; but the treatment of the leaves is curious, all the points having been rounded off. Whether this was the usual conventional treatment adopted by the Mathura sculptors, I have not yet been able to ascertain. The border on the right hand is, I think, intended for some fruit like the custard-apple. The middle portion of the slab shows a judicious treatment of simple flowers in contiguous squares, which, by lengthening the leaves of the alternate flowers, effectually removes the monotonous arrangement of the squares.

In my Report of 1862-63 I identified the Katrâ and jail mounds with the two principal Buddhist establishments described by the Chinese pilgrim Hwen Thsang. Contrary to his usual custom, his account of Mathura is singularly meagre and inexact. The first monastery which he notices is described as standing on a *mountain* at 5 or 6 *li* (about one mile) to the *east* of the city, and approached by a valley. As there are no hills or valleys at Mathura, and the river Jumna washes the *eastern* side of the city for its whole length, we must be content to take a *height* for a mountain, a *hollow* between two heights as a valley, and to alter the *east* to the *west* side of the city. But even after we have accepted these necessary corrections, it is difficult to make the pilgrim's descriptions agree with the actual positions of the ruined mounds of the present day. The *Katrâ* mound is the most prominent height about Mathura; and, as it was undoubtedly the site of a great Buddhist establishment, it has perhaps a better claim to be identified with *Upagupta's* monastery than any other. But then it lies immediately to the west of the city instead of one mile to the east of it.

The *Chaubâra* mounds are not less than one mile and a half from the present city, in a west-south-west direction; but from some of the outlying houses they might be described without any inaccuracy as being one mile to the west of the city. Their heights, however, are insignificant, and there are absolutely no such hollows as might be pardonably

described as valleys even by an enthusiastic Buddhist. Near the *Katrâ* there actually are real hollows from 25 to 30 feet deep between the mounds. The Katrâ, therefore, better suits the description of the *Upagupta* monastery as situated on a height, while the Chaubâra mounds better fulfil the description of one mile to the west of the city. Perhaps the fortunate discovery of an inscription at some future day may settle this unsatisfactory question. I confess, however, to a strong bias towards the Katrâ mound, as it alone has other mounds to the *north*, in which we could expect to find the stone chamber in which all the converts made by *Upagupta* had deposited slips of bambu. In one of these mounds at the present day a bhisti or water-arrier now occupies a good sized room, which has been excavated at different times in the stiff soil of the mound.

The position of the other place mentioned by the pilgrim is, I think, much less dubious. It is described as being four miles to the south-east of the stone chamber of *Upagupta*. This description, whether taken from the Katrâ or from the Chaubâra mounds, corresponds very closely with that of the jail mound, in which so many remains of a large Buddhist establishment have been discovered. Here then I would fix the site of the famous "dry tank" into which the pious monkey fell in a fit of enthusiastic joy when his offering of honey had been accepted by Buddha. Here there still is a large tank as well as a mound, and I think, therefore, that the jail mound is the actual site of the place described by Hwen Thsang.

INSCRIPTIONS.

I must now turn to the inscriptions, which form the most valuable portion of the Mathura discoveries, as they contain the names of three different kings, as well as numerous Samvat dates, which serve to fix the age of the architectural and sculptured remains of which Mathura has yielded such a plentiful supply. Twenty-nine of these inscriptions have already been translated by Professor Dowson,* to whom I submitted them with my readings of the dates. From these I have selected all the dated inscriptions, with others mentioning kings' names, and have added all the dated

* Royal Asiatic Society's Journal, new series, Vol. V.

inscriptions of my recent discoveries. These now form a collection of 24 inscriptions, which I have arranged chronologically in four plates.* Nine of them have had the advantage of being translated by Professor Dowson. Of the remainder, I have given my own limited translations of the legible portions, including always the date of the record and the name of the reigning king, when it is mentioned.

All the inscriptions have been carefully reduced by scale, and every letter has since been compared with the original paper inscriptions. The copies now given of Nos. 22 and 23 are more perfect than those which were published with Professor Dowson's translations, as I have now enjoyed a fresh opportunity of making fresh impressions from the original statues.

JAIL MOUND.

No. 1, *Plate XIII.*—SATRAP SAUDÂSA.—*Long Slab.*

1.—* *Swâmisya mahâkshatrapasya Saudâsasya Gajavarena Brâhmanena Segrava Sagotrena* *

2.—* * *rani Ima kshâyamada pushkaranainam paschima pushkaranim, udapâno, ârâmo, Stambhah*

This inscription records the gifts of a Brahman named *Gajavara* of the Segrava-gotra during the time of SAUDÂSA, the great satrap of the lord (paramount, whose name is lost) of tanks called *Kshayawada,* besides a western tank, a well, a garden, and a pillar.—*Professor Dowson.*

KING KANISHKA.—KANKALI MOUND.

No. 2, *Plate XIII.*—SAMVAT 5.—*Jain Pedestal.*

1.—* * *Bodila bhedha Vâsu Devâ pravi* * * *Siddhah Sam* 5—*He* 1—*Di.* 12—*Asya purrvaye kot* * * *Sragihato*

2.—*Sarvvasatwâhita Sukhaya* * * * *ji-to Brahmadâsika to ubhâna karita* * * * *Sati*

This inscription, dated in the Samvat year 5, in the 1st month of *Hemanta* (or the winter season), the 12th day, records some gift by a lady named Brahmadâsi (B. C. 52).

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* Plates XIII, XIV, XV, and XVI.

KANKALI MOUND.

No. 3, Plate XIII.—SAMVAT 5.—*Jain Pedestal.*

* * *to pativa* * * *Brahmajáti* * * *Sam* 5—*He*—4—*Di.* 20—*Asya purvvaye ku mahilatasya şishya Aryya Garika to*

This inscription records some gift of Aryya Garika, the disciple of Mahilata, in the Samvat year 5, in the 4th month of *Hemanta* (or the winter season), the 20th day (B. C. 52).

KANKALI MOUND.

No. 4, Plate XIII.—SAMVAT 9.—*Jain Pedestal.*

1.—*Siddham Mahárájasya Kanishkasya Samvatsare navame* * * * *Máse prath* * 1 *Divase* 5—*Asya purvvaye koteya to ganai to* * *nibha* * * *ráta vairá to sukhá to vachaka*

2.—* * *dhava* * *disa* * * *na bud* * *bha jimita* * * * *vikada*

This important inscription is dated in the 9th Samvat year (Samvatsare navame), in the 1st month (name of season lost), the 5th day, during the reign of the great King KANISHKA (B. C. 48.)

KANKALI MOUND.

No. 5, Plate XIII.—CIRCA, B. C. 40.—*Doubtful figure.*

1.—* * * * *ghoshaka parahasálika vairakasapála vatah* * * *

2.—* * *(ma) hárájátirajasya Kanishkasya Samvatsa (re)*

This is another record of the great Kanishka, but the Samvat year is unfortunately lost.

KANKALI MOUND.

No. 6, Plate XIII.—SAMVAT 20.—*Jain figure.*

1.—*Siddham Sam*—20—*Gr ma* 1—*Di* 25—*Koteya to ganata* * *taya ta kula ta vara ta gakha to sirika ta srákhikáye de*

2.—*taye dánam*

3.—*Varddhamána pra*

4.—*tima* 1

5.—* * *uita Vachakasya argya sangha sahasya na* * * *natatilasya* * * * *vili*

6.—*lasaktha biniya Jayavalasya nágadina* * *chanata denayam bha* * * *

This inscription, which is dated in the Samvat year 20, in the 1st month of *Grishma* (the hot season), the 25th day,

records the gift of one statue of Varddhamâna (*Pratima I*); and, as the figure is naked, there can be no doubt that it represents the Jain *Varddhamâna*, or *Mahâvira*, the last of the twenty-four pontiffs.

KANKALI MOUND.

No. 7, *Plate XIII*.—SAMVAT 22.

1.—* * *Sârttavâhiniye Dharmma Somâye dânam, namo arahanttânam*
2.—*Siddham Samva* 22—*Gri*. 1—*Di* * (*a*)*sya purvvaye Vâchakasya âryya matridinasya* * *

This inscription records the gift of a merchant's wife (Sârttavâhini) named Dharma-somâ in the Samvat year 22, in the 1st month of Grishma (the hot season), the number of the day lost (B. C. 35).

KING VASUDEVA.

No. 8, *Plate XV*.—JAIL MOUND.—*Slab*. *Samvat* 44.

1.—*Mahârâjasya râ* (*jâtirâja*)
2.—*sya Devaputrasya Vâsu* (*Devasya*)
3.—*Samvatsare* 44, *Varsha Mâ*
4.—*se prathame divase*
5.—*trinsa*, 30, *asya purvvaya*
6.—*talekeyam Mahâdandi*
7.—*sayamkasya Va*
8.—*lenosya Katomeha*

"(In the reign) of the great king, the king of kings, the son of heaven, *Vâsu Deva*, in the Samvat year 44, in *Varsha* (the rainy season), the 1st month, the 30th day. On that very day * * (B. C. '13)." (The remainder is too much mutilated to be translated, and as it contained only the names of donors, the loss is of little consequence.)

KING HUVISHKA, NEAR KANKALI MOUND.

No. 9, *Plate XIV*.—SAMVAT 39.—*Elephant Capital*.

1.—*Mâhârajasya Devaputrasya Huvishkasya, Sam 39*
2.—*He* 3—*Di*. 11—*Etaya purvvaye Nandi Visâla*
3.—*Pratishthapito Siva-dâsa Sreshtiputrena Sreshthina*
4.—*Aryyenah Rudra-dâsena arahantanam pujâye*

"(In the reign) of the Maharaja Huvishka, the son of heaven, in the Samvat year 39, in Hemanta (the cold

season), the 3rd month, the 11th day. On that date this elephant (or great Nandi) was set up by the son of Siva Dâsa Sreshti, the noble Sreshti Rudra Dâsa, to the honour of the Arhats (B. C. 18)."

KANKALI MOUND.

No. 10, *Plate XIV.*—SAMVAT 47.

1.—*Sam,* 47, *Gr.* 2—*Di.*20—*Etasya purvvaye varani gâti pati vamika Vâchavasya Dehinadâsya Sasâsya Senasya ninatanam Sanakada*
2.—* * * *pashâna vadhaya giha* * * *

This inscription is dated in the Samvat year 47, the 2nd month of Grishma (the hot season), the 20th day (B. C. 10).

JAIL MOUND.

No. 11, *Plate XIV.*—SAMVAT 47.—*Base of Pillar.*

Samvatsare 47, *Gr.* 3, *Di.* 5. *Asya purvvaye danam Bhikshusya Dharma Devasya*

"In the Samvat year 47, in Grishma (the hot season), the 3rd month, the 5th day. On that date the gift of the mendicant Dharma Deva (B. C. 10)."

JAIL MOUND.

No. 12, *Plate XIV.*—SAMVAT 47.—*Base of Pillar.*

Sam. 47, *Gr.* 4,—*Di.* 4.—*Mahârâjasya Râjatirajasya Devaputrasya Huvishkasya Vihâre dânam bhikshusya Jivakasya Udeyanakasya kumbhako* 25 *Sarvasatwa hita, Sukham bhavatu Sunghe chatur dise* *

"In the Samvat year 47, in Grishma (the hot season), the 4th month, the 4th day. Gift to the *Vihâra* of the great king, the king of kings, the son of heaven, *Huvishka*, by the mendicant Jivaka Udeyana. May it be to the benefit, welfare and happiness of all in the four quarters (of the world) (B. C. 10)."—*Prof. Dowson.*

* I have corrected the reading of *chatur dase* to *chatur dise*, which is the true reading, and have slightly altered the translation accordingly.

JAIL MOUND.

No. 13, *Plate XIV.*—SAMVAT 47.—***Base of Pillar.***

Dânam Devilasya Dadhikundi Devikulikasya, Sam. 47,—Gr.—4, Divase* 25

"Gift of Devila of the family of Dadhikundi Devi, in the Samvat year 47, in Grishma (the hot season), the 4th month, the 25th day (B. C. 10)."—*Prof. Dowson.*

JAIL MOUND.

No. 14, *Plate XIV.*—SAMVAT 47.

Datta Sta (*mbha*) 126; *Sam* 47—*Va* 4—*Di.* 11

"Presented pillar 126 in the Samvat year 47, in Varsha (the rainy season), the 4th month, the 11th day (B. C. 10)." —*Prof. Dowson.*

KANKALI MOUND.

No. 15, *Plate XIV.*—SAMVAT 48.

1.—*Mahârâjasya Huvishkasya Sam.* 48—*He.* 4—*Di.* 5
2.—*Bama Dâsayakula ukonasaya Siviya dharâ*

"(In the reign) of Mahârâja Huvishka, in the Samvat year 48, in Hemanta (the winter season), the 4th month, the 5th day (B. C. 9)."

N. B.—The right half of each of these two lines is wanting.

KANKALI MOUND.

No. 16, *Plate XV.*—SAMVAT 83.—*Pedestal of naked statue, life-size.*

1.—*Siddham Mahârâjasya Vâsu Devasya, sam* 83, *Gr.* 2, *Di* 16 *etasya purvvaye Senasya*
2.—* * *tridattasya vagrayevya* * *cha* * *sya gad-dhikasya* * * *vichitiye Jina-dâsiya protima*

"(In the reign) of Mahârâja Vâsu Deva, in the Samvat year 83, in Grishma (the hot season), the 2nd month, the 16th day. On that very date the gift of an image." (The rest cannot be made out satisfactorily).—(A. D. 26.)

JAIL MOUND.

No. 17, *Plate XV.*—SAMVAT 83.—*Seated Buddha.*

Sam 83, *Gr.* 2, *Di.* 25, *etave purwaye* * *

"In the Samvat year 83, in Grishma (the hot season), the 2nd month, the 25th day. On that date * *" (A. D. 26).

KANKALI MOUND.

No. 18, *Plate XV.*—SAMVAT 87. *Naked figure, life-size.*

1.—*Siddham Mahárájasya Rájatirájasya Sháhir Vasu Devasya*
2.—*Sam* 87, *He* 2, *Di* 30
3.—*Hutasavádptayasya pitri suvási kasya ritaka Sreshti*
4.—* * *pa* * *ma*

"(In the reign) of the great king, the king of kings, the *Sháhi, Vásu Deva*, in the Samvat year 87, in Hemanta (the cold season), the 2nd month, the 30th day." (The remainder cannot be read out satisfactorily).—(A. D. 30.)

KANKALI MOUND.

No. 19, *Plate XV.*—SAMVAT 90.

1.—*Samvatsare* 90, *Va* * * * * * *Kutubani vedanasya vadhinga*
2.—*Ka* * * *ga* * * *tata* * * *vahu* * *Katakaláta Majhama to Sákhá* * * * *Sanikaya bhati* * *ládha thabhávi*

This inscription is unfortunately too much mutilated to be deciphered. It is dated in the Samvat year 90, in Varsha (the rainy season).—(A. D. 33).

KANKALI MOUND.

No. 20, *Plate XV.*—SAMVAT 98.—*Naked standing figure.*

1.—*Siddham Aum (?) Namo Arahate Mahávírasya Devanásasya-Rájnya Vásu Devasya, Samvatsare* 98, *Varsha Mâse*, 4 *divase*, 11 *etasya*
2.—*purvvaye Dehiniyá to gana* * *puridha* * *ká kulánapeta putrika to Sákhágauasya Aryya Denadat* * *na*
3.—*ryya kshanasya*
4.—*prakagirna*
5.—*kuhadiye praja*
6.—*tasya pravarakasya Dhatri Varunosya Ganddakasya ma* * *ya Mitrasa* * * *dattaga*
7.—*ye* * * * * *vata maha*

The first line of this inscription is the only important part of it, the rest being a mere string of names of the donors. The terminative of the name of *Mahávíra* and of his title *Devanása* in the possessive *sya* is perhaps a mistake of the sculptor of the letters. I should have expected *Mahaviráya Devanásáya*, readings which are countenanced by the half-formed *á* attached to the *r* of *Mahávirasya*. Adopting these alterations, the opening may be rendered as follows:—

"Glory to the Arhat Mahávira, the destroyer of the Devas! (In the reign) of the King Vâsu Deva, in the

Samvat year 98, in Varsha (the rainy season), the 4th month, the 11th day. On that very date," &c. (A. D. 41).

No. 21, *Plate XVI.*—ALIGARH INSTITUTE.—*Railing pillar from Mathura.*

1.—*kapa* * * * *
2.—*bhuti* * * * *tsa*
3.—*putrasa* * * *lasa*
4.—*Dhana bhûtisa danam vedaka*
5.—*torunana cha ratana graha sa*
6.—*va Budha pujaye saha mata pi*
7.—*trohisaha chatuha parishahi*

This inscription was originally cut on a corner pillar of an enclosure with sockets for rails on two *adjacent faces*, and sculptures on the other two faces. Afterwards another railing was attached, and fresh holes of a much larger size were then cut in the face bearing the inscription. Some of the letters in the last line are doubtful; but the general drift of the record is to announce some gift of *Dhana-bhûti*, the son of * * *bhûti*, in honour of all the Buddhas.

JAIL MOUND.

No. 22, *Plate XVI.*—SAMVAT 135.—*Buddhist Pedestal.*

1.—*Samvatsare Sate panchastrisottaratame*, 135. *Pushyamâse divase vinsati*, 20. *Deya dharmâyam vihârasya Mitra* * *
2.—*de v————yadatra-punyam tad-bhavatu mâtâpitroh sarvva satwatân cha Anuttara jnâ sâptaye*
3.—*Saubhâgyam pratirupata guna cha vikirtti pattakshaya Sri mato vibhavâ-bhûva sukha-phalâni* * * *
4.—*Astasthani* * * *

"In the year one hundred and thirty-five (135), on the twentieth (20th) day of the month Pushya. This votive offering to the Vihâr. May the pious action here performed tend to the welfare of my parents and all. For the acquisition of the irrefragable doctrine."—(A. D. 78).—*Prof. Dowson.*

To this translation Professor Dowson adds: "the inscription is imperfect, but fortunately the defective portion is apparently of no importance, as what is left of it consists only of pious aspirations. The sentence in the second line, which clearly reads *Anuttara-jnâ Sâptaye*, is inaccurate. Its correct wording will be found in the following inscription, No. 23. It is a prayer for the *avâpti*, that is, the acquisition, or, as probably here meant, the spread of the *Anuttara-jnâna*. *Jnâna*, or knowledge, may be translated as doctrine. *Anut-*

tara admits of two interpolations, being either that which cannot be excelled, or that which cannot be answered."*

KATRA MOUND.

No. 23, Plate XVI.—Samvat 281.

1.—*Deyadharmâyam yasâ Vihâre Sâkya Bhikshunyaka* * * *yadatra punyam tad bhavâtu sarva sa*

2.—*twetâm anuttarajânavâptaye. Samvatsrah* 281

"This is a votive offering to the Yasa Vihara by the mendicant priest of Sâkya * * May this virtuous action tend to the general good. For the acquisition of the irrefragable doctrine."—(A. D. 224).—*Prof. Dowson.*

KATRA MOUND.

No. 24, Plate XVI.—Circa—A. D. 150.—*Slab.*

I found this inscription in 1853 with its face downwards, forming part of the pavement immediately outside the Katrâ gateway. It is unfortunately broken and imperfect; but as the fragment is in excellent preservation, I have been able to read every letter, and to complete the inscription as far as it goes, as I found that it is, letter for letter, the same as the opening of the Bhitari and lower Bihâr pillar inscriptions. It records the well-known genealogy of the Gupta family, from Sri Gupta down to Samudra Gupta.

In the plate I have given the restored portions in thin letters to the left and right, the middle portion in thick letters being the Mathura stone, which is now in the Lahôr Museum. It is not necessary to give any translation or transcript of this inscription, as both may be consulted in the accounts of Dr. Mill and Bâbu Râjendra Lâl Mitra.* But the Mathura version of this record is in such excellent preservation, and its letters are so well defined and clearly cut, that I thought it advisable to publish a copy of it for the purpose of giving the means of comparison between the alphabetical characters of the earlier inscriptions of the Indo-Scythians and those of their Gupta successors. The most marked change is in the forms of the letters *m* and *n*; but the older *m* still continued in use, as may be seen on the coins of Samudra Gupta, where it is preserved in his title of *Parâkrama*, while the new form is used in his name of

* Royal Asiatic Society's Journal, new series, Vol. V, p. 184.

Samudra. The new form of *m* is invariably used in all the latter Mathura inscriptions after the time of the Indo-Scythians, as may be seen in Nos. 22 and 23 inscriptions of Plate XV, and in Nos. 8, 9, 18, 19, 24 and 26 of my Mathura inscriptions translated by Professor Dowson.* The earliest use of the new *m* that I have discovered is in the Samvat year 98. This form occurs three times in the inscription, which opens as follows :—

(Sa) *mvat varshe* 98 *má* 1

It must therefore have been adopted in some parts of the country at even an earlier date.

The letter *n* I take to be the best test letter for these early inscriptions. In the inscriptions of the Indo-Scythian period it is formed of one perpendicular stroke standing upon a horizontal stroke. In the inscriptions of the Gupta period it always takes the loop form, which is well shown in the word *kritánta,* in the third line of this Mathura example, while the earlier form of the Indo-Scythian period may be seen in the second line of No. 21 inscription in the same plate. The old form alone is used in the inscription, dated Samvat 135, but in the inscription of Samvat 281 both forms are used.

As a general rule, I have found that the new forms of *m* and *n* occur always when the record of the gift begins with the words *Deya dharmmáyam,* a formula which was never used during the Indo-Scythian period, the simple *dánam* being then the only acknowledged form of registering a gift.

The most marked difference between the alphabetical characters of the Satrap inscription and those of the Indo-Scythian inscriptions is in the letter *y,* when it is attached to another letter, as in *Swámisya, Kshatrapasya,* and *Dásasya,* which preserve the *old* normal form unchanged, while all the Indo-Scythian inscriptions beginning from the earliest date of Samvat 5 give the modified form of the attached *y,* which was adopted by the Guptas, and which has descended down to the present day.

The information to be derived from these inscriptions is of the greatest value for the ancient history of India. The general purport of all of them is the same, to record the gifts of certain individuals, either Jains or Buddhists, for the honour of their religion, and for the benefit of themselves

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* Royal Asiatic Society's Journal, Vol. V, new series, Plates II and III.

and their parents. When the inscriptions are confined to this simple announcement, they are of little importance, but as the donors in most of these Mathura records have added the name of the reigning king, and the Samvat date at the time of the gift, they form in fact so many skeleton pages of the lost history of India. The direct amount of information which they give belongs to an early and very interesting period, just before and after the Christian era, when, as we learn from the Chinese authorities, the Indo-Scythians had conquered the whole of Northern India, although the actual extent of their conquests was quite unknown. Hence the great value of the present inscriptions, from which we learn that the permanent occupation of Mathura had been effected some time before the Samvat year 9, when the Indo Scythian Prince Kanishka filled the throne of North-West India and the Panjâb.*

Two of the inscriptions are dated in the Samvat year 5, or B. C. 52,† but as they do not give the king's name, it is uncertain whether they belong to the reign of *Kanishka.* But if not, they must then be assigned to the reign of his predecessor *Wema-kadphises,* whom I suppose to have been the real founder of the Samvat era, which was afterwards known by the name of Vikramâditya.

Only one inscription of a date earlier than the Samvat has yet been found in Mathura, although it has yielded a coin of the time of Asoka, with the name of *Upâtikyâ* in well formed lât characters. This early inscription is a record of the time of the great Satrap *Saudâsa,*‡ who would appear to have been the tributary of some king (*Swâmi*), whose name is unfortunately lost. I possess several copper coins of *Saudâsa,* all of which were obtained in Mathura. From the legend of these coins, which is in Pali, we learn that his father was a Satrap before him. I read it as follows:—

Mahâkhatapasa putrasa khatapasa Saudâsasa "(coin) of the great Satrap's son, the Satrap Saudâsa."§ The legend of these coins is on the obverse, which presents a standing male figure holding an undulating streamer in his right

* See No. 4 inscription in Plate XIII.

† Plate XIII, Nos. 2 and 3 inscriptions.

‡ Plate XIII, No. 1 inscription.

§ See Prinsep's Essays by Thomas, Vol. II, plate 44, fig. 21, for specimens of these rare coins.

hand. To his left there is a double trident, and beneath his feet a *Swastika*, or mystic cross. The reverse is occupied by a standing female figure with two small elephants, one on each side of her head, which are anointing her with water from vessels held in their trunks. As this type is found on a unique didrachma of Azilises, the coins of Saudâsa may safely be referred to his date, which cannot be later than from 80 to 70 B. C., and as the inscription of Saudâsa is certainly older than those which are dated in the Samvat year 5, or B. C. 52, the date of this Satrap may be accepted as ranging from B. C. 70 down to the period of the Indian conquests of Wema Kadphises in B. C. 57, and perhaps even a few years later, as the absence of any record of Wema Kadphises at Mathura may perhaps show that the government was entrusted by him to its previous ruler as a tributary Satrap.

According to the testimony of his coins, the father of Saudâsa was also a *Mahâkshatrapa*, or Great Satrap before him. Now, similar coins to those which bear the name of Saudâsa have already been discovered in Mathura with the name of *Râjubula*, whilst other coins, found also at Mathura, give the name of *Ranjabula*. On the first class of coins, which are of copper and of the same types on both sides as the coins of Saudâsa, the legend in India-Pali characters is simply *Mahâkhatapasa Râjubulasa* (coin) of the great Satrap Rajubul.* As these coins are directly and intimately connected with those of Saudâsa, by being found in the same place, by bearing the same types, and by belonging to the same period of time, there seems to me a very strong probability that *Râjubul* was the father of Saudâsa.

The other class of the coins of Râjubul was deciphered and published by me in 1854.† The coins of this class are billon hemidrachmas, which are evident imitations of the late hemidrachmas of *Straton*, of which, indeed, a large number was found in company with these coins of *Râjubul*. The obverse of both bears a rude head, and the reverse the well known figure of Athene Promachos, which is so common on the coins of the Greek princes of Ariana and India.‡ The obverse bears a corrupt Greek legend, which, by a com-

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* See Prinsep's Essays by Thomas, Vol. II, Plate 44, fig. 20.
† Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1854, p. 679.
‡ Ditto ditto, Plate XXXV, figs. 5, 6, and 7.

parison of several specimens, gives the name and titles of the prince as—

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΡΑΖΙΟΒαλου

"(coin) of the king of kings, the preserver Raziob (al)." The legend of the reverse in well defined Ariana-Pali characters reads on one variety *Chhatrapasa apratihatachakrasa Ranjubulasa* "(coin) of the Satrap, invincible with the discus, RANJUBUL." The other varieties have the second title shortened to *apratichakrasa*, but this does not alter the meaning.

As I have obtained several of these coins of *Ranjubul* in the Eastern Panjâb, I conclude that he was a native chief, who held North-West India towards the close of the Greek rule in B. C. 120. His dominions must have extended from Kangra to Multan, and from Sangala to Mathura; and I think it very probable that he may have preserved his authority by an acknowledgment, either nominal or real, of the supremacy of the Indo-Scythian Princes Azas and Azilises. His type of the goddess anointed by the elephants connects him with Azilises, while that of Athene *Promachos* connects him with the later Greek princes. His date, therefore, may be fixed approximately at from 120 to 80 B. C., and that of his son Saudâsa from 80 to 57 B. C.

From later dated inscriptions* we find that Kanishka was succeeded by Huvishka, who was reigning in the Samvat years 39, 47, and 48, and who in turn was succeeded by Vâsu Deva, whose reign extended down to Samvat 98, or A. D. 51,† the whole covering nearly a century of one of the least known periods of Indian history.

Here it may be asked, "Why should Vâsu Deva, whose name is purely Indian, be called an Indo-Scythian?" The question is a very pertinent one, but the reply, which is, I think, most complete and satisfactory, may shortly be summed up as follows:—

1*st.*—All three princes take the title of *Devaputra*, or "son of heaven,"‡ which is not a mere honorary appellation that might be adopted by all royal personages, but a distinctive family title, which I take to be the declaration of

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* Plate XV, Nos. 9, 12, and 15 inscriptions.

† Plate XV, No. 20 inscription.

‡ Kanishka takes this title in the Bahawalpur inscription. *See* Royal Asiatic Society's Journal, new series, Vol. IV. Huvishka takes the title in my No. 9 inscription, Plate XIV, and Vâsu Deva in my No. 8 inscription, Plate XV.

their connection with the imperial dynasty of China. The "great son of heaven," as the Chinese Emperor styled himself, was called *Bagpur* for *Bagaputr*, or the "son of god," by the Persians of the Sassanian period, for which the most direct Indian equivalent is *Devaputra.*

2*nd.*—All three princes take the title of "king of the *Korano*," or *Kushân* tribe, the latter being the native form of the name both on their coins and in their inscriptions.

3*rd.*—The coins of all three princes are found over the same extent of country from Kâbul to Banâras, and from Kashmîr to Sindh and Malwa. They are of the same character, whether in gold or in copper, and evidently belong to princes of the same dynasty.

4*th.*—Vâsu Deva takes the title of *Shâhi*,* which we know from numerous coins both in silver and copper,† as well as from the Jain records published by Dr. Bhau Daji, to have been the distinctive‡ title of the Indo-Scythian princes.

5*th.*—In the inscription of Samudra Gupta on the Allahabad pillar, the titles of *Devaputra*, *Shâhân*, *Shâhi* are applied to the Indo-Scythian king who was contemporary with the Sakas and Murundas.

On these grounds I venture to assign King Vâsu Deva to the dynasty of Indo-Scythian princes who ruled over North-Western India and the Panjâb just before and after the Christian era. On the gold coins, which are numerous, his name was read by Wilson as *Baraoro*, but the true reading is BAZOΔHO,§ which on the small copper coins is shortened to the spoken form of BAZΔHO, these being respectively the Greek renderings of *Bâsu Deo* and *Bâs Deo.*

I am inclined to identify this Vâsu Deva with the founder of the *Kanwa* or *Kanwayana* family of the Purânas. In the Raja Tarangini the three Indo-Scythian kings—Hushka, Jushka and Kanishka—are called *Turushkânwaya*, and this, as I conjecture, may possibly have been the original form of the dynastic name in the Purânas. We should thus have the Pauranic Vâsu Deva and his three successors identified as Indo-Scythians; and, as the dates of the two Vâsu Devas

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* Plate XV, No. 18 inscription.

† See Ariana Antiqua, Plate XVI, fig. 18, and Pl. XVII, fig. 11.

‡ Bombay Asiatic Society's Journal, Vol. IX, p. 140.

§ Ariana Antiqua, Plate XIV, figs. 14 and 18.

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correspond, there would be no difficulty in accepting their identity. According to the Purânas* the names of the four Kanwa princes were as follow:—

	Reign.
Vâsu Deva	9 years
Bhumi Mitra	14 "
Nârâyana	12 "
Susarman	10 "
	45 years

and the date assigned to them is between 66 and 21 B. C. In some copies of the Purânas the duration of the dynasty is stated at 345 years, which has very generally been objected to, as being impossible. But precisely the same objection of impossibility may be raised against the shorter period of 45 years applied to four *generations*. If my conjecture regarding the identity of the two Vâsu Devas may be accepted, I would propose to adopt 145 or 135 years as the true number, and to place the names of Wema-Kadphises, Kanishka, and Huvishka before that of Vâsu Deva.

This proposed arrangement receives some countenance from different details of apparently the same dynasty which was reigning at the same period, as preserved by the Jain author Merutunga.† He gives the names and lengths of reigns as follow:—

	Reign.
Vikramâditya	60 years
Dharmâditya	40 "
Bhâilla	11 "
Nâilla	14 "
Nâhada...	10 "
	135 years

In this list it is noteworthy that the length of reign assigned to Vikramâditya, 60 years, coincides exactly with that given to the three Indo-Scythian princes, Hushka, Jushka, and Kanishka, in the Raja Tarangini. If, therefore, we substitute these three names for that of Vikramâditya, by accepting the latter as a title applicable to the three brothers, we shall then have Dharmâditya as the representa-

* Hall's edition of Wilson's Vishnu Purâna, Vol. IV, p. 193.
† Dr. Bhau Daji, Bombay Asiatic Society's Journal, Vol. IX, 149.

tive of Vâsu Deva, while his three successors, who reigned, respectively, 11, 14, and 10 years, will be the same as the three successors of Vâsu Deva, who reigned, respectively, 14, 12, and 10 years.

By accepting these identifications, the beginning of the Indo-Scythian rule in India would be fixed in 57 B. C., and its end in A. D. 79, at which latter date, according to Hindu belief, the dynasty of Vikramâditya was finally overthrown by Sâlivâhan.

The conclusions which I have come to regarding the Indo-Scythians may be briefly stated as follow:—

The Scythian conqueror of India, according to the Chinese, was *Yun-kao-ching*, whose conquests in India extended far to the east and south. Now *Yun* is the vulgar pronunciation of *Wem or Wen*, and this I take to have been the true name of the great Indian conqueror, which is found on the coins in the Greek form of OOHMO, and in the Arian legend as *Hima or Wima*. I conclude further that *Kao-ching* may also be read as *Kao-ting*, and that it is identical with the Greek ΚΑΔΦΙϹΗϹ and the Arian *Kadpisa*, which I take to be connected with the Indian *gadâ* or club, and to mean the "club-bearer," or something similar. To this title of *Kadphises* I would refer the Indian names of *Gardhabhilla* and *Gandharva*, which, by slight alterations to give meanings in their own language, the Hindus have applied to the whole dynasty of *Vikramâditya Gardabhilla*. That *Wema* was the great founder of the Indo-Scythian families, we have the most convincing evidence given by the Chinese authorities, according to whom the King of Sogdiana, in the beginning of the seventh century, A. D., traced his descent from the *Shaovu* WEN of the Yueichi horde through an uninterrupted line for more than six centuries.* The actual period from which the six centuries are to be counted back is A. D. 605—616, which fixes the date of the great dynasty in the first century B. C., or exactly contemporary with *Wema* Kadphises. To the same *Wen*, no less than ten other princes traced their origin.

Further, I think it not improbable that the very common coins of the Nameless king, which are found in such numbers in the Panjâb and North-Western India, may be the *Indian*

* "Remusat" Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques, I, 227. Shaowu is clearly the same title as that which is rendered by the Greek ZAOOY or *Zavu*, and the native *Yaua* and *Yavuga* on the coins of Kadaphes.

coinage of *Wema* ,or Vikramâditya, as no less than three of the five types of this mysterious money bear the Arian letter *vi* on one side.* This assignment is countenanced by the shapes of some of the Greek and Arian characters, which are peculiar to the coins of *Wema* and the *Nameless king*.

In proposing these conjectures regarding the possible identity of Wema Kadphises and Vikramâditya or Gardabhilla, I have been partly influenced by the knowledge that the coins of Wema have been found in large numbers all over Northern and Western India. Out of 163 Indo-Scythian coins that were dug up at Ghâzipur in 1834, there were 12 of Wema; and out of 228 that were dug up near the 92nd milestone of the Jabalpur Railway, 8 were of Wema. His coins have also been dug up at Mathura, Butesar, Sankisa, and Banâras, and they are procurable in every bazar in Northern India.

A very strong point in favour of the Indo-Scythian origin of Vikramâditya is the fact that Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vâsu Deva all make use of the term *Samvat* or *Samvatsara* for their dates without any qualification. That this cannot be the *Saka era* of A. D. 79 we are quite certain, as Kanishka flourished long before that date. The Samvat used by him and his successors can, therefore, only be the so-called Vikramâditya Samvat of the Hindus. In India this lasted during the period of the Indo-Scythian rule, that is, down to A. D. 79, when it was supplanted by the *Saka era*, which was in universal use throughout India until the revival of the Vikramâditya Samvat by Sri Harsha Vikramâditya of Mâlwa in the beginning of the sixth century. In Kâbul and the Panjâb it was most probably not disturbed until the time of Mahmud of Ghazni, as we find it used on his bilingual coins for the equivalent Indian date of the Hijra year of the Arabic legend.

Hitherto I have dwelt only on the political bearing of these Mathura inscriptions, but their value is equally great for the religious history of India, as they afford the most unequivocal evidence of the flourishing state of the *Jaina* religion during the period of Indo-Scythian rule, both before and after the Christian era. I have already noticed the fact that the statues discovered in the Kankâli mound

* See Ariana Antiqua, Plate IX, figs. 8, 10, 20, 21, and 22.

belonged to the Jaina religion. This is proved by their being absolutely naked, which also shows that they belonged to the Digambara sect of Jains. But the evidence of the statues is confirmed by the almost stronger testimony of two of the inscriptions, which mention the well known names of *Varddhamâna* and *Mahâvira.** If these names had been found on draped statues, their testimony might perhaps have been doubted; but, as they are attached to absolutely naked statues, there can be no doubt whatever that both names refer to the 24th patriarch of the Jaina religion.

This is perhaps one of the most startling and important revelations that has been made by recent researches in India. It is true that, according to the Jaina books, their faith had continuously flourished, under a succession of teachers, from the death of Mahâvir in B. C. 527 down to the present time. Hitherto, however, there was no tangible evidence to vouch for the truth of this statement. But the Kankâli mound at Mathura has now given us the most complete and satisfactory testimony that the Jaina religion, even before the beginning of the Christian era, must have been in a condition almost as rich and flourishing as that of Buddha. The Kankâli mound is a very extensive one, and the number of statues of all sizes, from the colossal downwards, which it has yielded, has scarcely been surpassed by the prolific returns of Buddhist sculpture from the jail mound. But, as not more than one-third of the Kankâli mound has yet been thoroughly searched, it may be confidently expected that its complete exploration will amply repay all the cost and trouble of the experiment.

BITHÂ.

The extensive mounds of ruins at *Bithâ,* 10 miles to the south-south-west of Allahabad, were first discovered by the railway contractors, who possess keen eyes for brick ruins, which offer a tempting mine for ballasting the line of rail at a cheap rate. *Bhitâ* or *Bhisâ* is used in many parts of the North-Western Provinces to denote a mound. At Bhilsa the stupas are only known by the name of *bhitâ,* or "mounds," of which the diminutive is *bhitni,* a nipple. But in the present instance I believe that the name of Bithâ is actually

* See Plate XIII, No. 6 inscription, for Varddhamâna, and Plate XV, No. 20, for Mahâvira.

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derived from the real name of the place in former days. At present nothing is known of its old name; but the following extract from the "Vira Charitra" of the Jains appears to me to refer to this very place:—"Udâyana of the Yaduvansa race was reigning at Bitbhaya-pattana, in *Sindhu Sauviradesa*, in the time of *Mahâvira*, and embraced Jainism. He had a statue of Mahâvira made of *gosirsha chandana*, or 'ox-head sandalwood,' for the possession of which a great battle was fought between him and Chandra Pradyota, Raja of Ujain."* This very statue is said to have been afterwards found by Kumâr Pâl, the well known Jaina Raja of Gujarât.

Now this same story, substituting only the name of Buddha for that of Mahâvira, is told, word for word, of Udâyana, Raja of Kausâmbi, who was a contemporary of Buddha and possessed a *gosirsha chandana* statue of the great teacher. Udâyana, King of the Vatsas, who reigned at Kausâmbi, is well known, and so also is the position of his capital, which I have satisfactorily identified with the present large village of Kosam on the left bank of the Jumna, 30 *miles* above Allahabad. As there can be little doubt that the Udâyana of the Jaina story is the same king as the Buddhist Udâyana, the position of *Bitbhaya-pattana* ought certainly to be looked for within the limits of the Kausâmbi kingdom. This is fulfilled by the position of the great ruined mounds of Bithâ, which are not more than 25 miles to the east of Kausâmbi, but on the opposite bank of the Jumna.

The antiquity of Bithâ is vouched for by the five old inscriptions which were diligently collected by my zealous friend Babu Siva Prasâd and myself. These are given in Plate XVIII. They are all unfortunately very brief, and three of them are imperfect, but they are amply sufficient to show that Buddhism was the prevailing religion at Bithâ immediately following the period of the Indo-Scythian rule in North-Western India. The new form of the letter *m* is used in all these inscriptions, which shows that they are certainly not older than Samvat 98, in which year this form of the letter makes its first appearance in the Mathura inscriptions. Two of them begin with the later formula of "*Deyadharmâya*," which, as we have seen from the Mathura records, was

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* I am indebted for this important passage to my friend Babu Siva Prasâd.

never used during the period of Indo-Scythian rule. On the other hand, the old form of the letter *n* is found in all the instances where the reading of the letter is certain, as in *dánam* in inscription A, and in *satwánam* and *jnána* in inscription D. They cannot, therefore, be later than A. D. 200 or 250, when this form of the letter *n* finally disappears in Northern India.

Of the inscriptions themselves, little is required to be said, as they are of the common forms of these records, with which we have become so familiar in the Mathura inscriptions.

A, which is inscribed on the pedestal of a standing figure found in Bithâ, opens with the words *Srimad Buddhavala* * * * *pâdân* — "Gift of the fortunate Buddhavala," and ends with *prâtishthita*, "set up or established." It is doubtless a record of the presentation of the statue on the pedestal of which it is inscribed.

B is too imperfect to be deciphered. It is inscribed on the pedestal of a squatted draped figure, with wheel symbol, also from Bithâ.

C. This inscription was found in *Deoriya*, which forms the northern portion of Bithâ.

It is inscribed on the pedestal of a small squatted figure of Buddha the teacher.

1.—*Bhagavata pitâmahasa*
2.—*Pratima pravishthapi*
3.—*ta Aryyantadiye Sre*
4.—*shthiniye Uga*
5.—*hakaye duke prahenartha*

The two lower lines being injured, the latter part of this reading is doubtful in several letters. It appears to record the setting up of "an image of Bhagavata Pitâmaha by Aryyantadi, the banker's wife of Ugahaka * * *" The title of *Pitâmaha*, "the great father," belongs peculiarly to Brahmâ, according to the Brahmans, but here we find it applied to Buddha himself. It is also given to Brahmâ by Amara Sinha, who was himself a Buddhist.

D is inscribed on the pedestal of a standing figure of Buddha, draped, also from Deoriya.

1.—*Deya dharmâyam Sâkya bhikshor Bodhi Varmanah yadatra-punyam*
2.—*tad bhava mâtâ-pitro sarvva satwânâm chânuttara jnânâvaptaye*

"The religious gift of Bodhi-Varmma, a mendicant priest of Sakya. May this pious act be for the benefit of my father

and mother, and of all, and for the acquisition of the irrefragable doctrine." The formula adopted in this record only differs from that of the Mathura inscriptions by the introduction of the conjunction *cha*, "and," between *Satwánám* and *anúttara.*

E. This inscription, also from Deoriya, is on the pedestal of a standing figure. The first line begins with the usual opening of the formula of the Gupta period.

1.—*Deya dharmáyam* * * * * *
2.—*tad bhavatu máta-pitrosarva satwánám chánuttara jnánávaptaye*
3.—*Sri Kshetrana* vah*

The name of the donor is lost, but the pious gift is recorded exactly in the same words as in the last inscription. In the last short line, *Sri Kshetra* is probably the name of a place.

The remains of the ancient city, which I suppose to have been *Bithhayapattana*, extend in a slightly curved line for about a mile and a half in length in a direction from south-southwest to north-north-west, ending in the rocky islet of Sujân Deo in the Jumna. This rock was originally the most northerly point of the low ridge of sandstone which bounds Bithâ and Deoriya on the east, but the continuous encroachments of the Jumna at last cut it off from the land, and it now stands in the midst of the river, a bluff and picturesque pinnacle of rock 60 feet in height. It was formerly crowned by a Hindu temple called Sujân Deo, by which name the rock is still known. But the temple was destroyed in the reign of Shah Jahân by Shaista Khân, who, in A. H. 1059, erected an open octagonal cupola, 21 feet in diameter, which still exists.

On the cliff opposite Sujân Deo, about 200 yards to the south, stands the small village of Deoriya, which now forms the northern extremity of the ruins of an extensive city. In the rocky ridge to the south are the well known sandstone quarries, and close to them are some square-shaped fields, raised high above the surrounding lands, in which the plough still turns up statues and pillars and stone umbrellas. Several statues and fragments of architecture are collected together under different trees in the village, and on the very edge of the cliff overhanging the Jumna, opposite Sujân Deo, there is a high artificial mound that was most probably the site of the original temple, which gave its name of Deoriya to the village.

From Bithâ to Deoriya the distance is nearly half a mile, part of the high ground between the two places being an artificial embankment connecting the rocky ridge of Deoriya with the high mound called *Dhi* of the large mass of ruins to the south, which are about 1,500 feet in length.

To the south-west of *Dhi* lies the principal mass of ruin now called *Garh*, or "the fort." It is very nearly square in form, the north face being 1,200 feet in length outside, and the other three faces about 1,500 feet each. Its exact shape will be seen in the accompanying map.* Apparently, the rampart is only an enormous earthen mound from 35 to 40 feet in height and of great thickness, its base being not less than 200 feet. But a section which I made on the eastern face, as shown in the plate,† disclosed a massive brick wall, 6½ feet thick at top, with a slight batter on the outside, at 100 feet from the extreme edge of the slope. The fort must, therefore, have been surrounded by a strong brick wall, which could not have been less than 45 feet in height, including the loopholed parapet. But as the mass of earth outside this wall is much too great to have been washed from the inside by the annual rains, I conclude that there must have been an outer line of works forming a *faussebraie*, or *raoni* as it is called in India, at a distance of 25 or 30 feet beyond the main line. This supposed outer line of defence is shown by dotted lines in the section. In the course of time the ruins of the two walls, combined with annual washings of the rains, would gradually fill up the space between them and form the gentle slope of the present mound.

At all the four corners, and, at a few intermediate points, the earthen mounds rise to a still greater height, showing the position of the towers of this strong fort. At the western angle there are two of these lofty mounds standing close together, but with a deep gap between them, which must have been the site of one of the principal gates of the old fort. Two other gaps on the north-east and south-east faces show the probable position of two other gates,—the former leading to the northern part of the town, outside, including Deoriya, and the latter to the east, towards a long mound of brick ruins, the remains of some important buildings. The whole of the interior of the fort was once raised to a height

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* Plate XVII, Map of Bithâ, or Bitbhayapattana.
† Ditto, section marked A B.

of 15 or 20 feet, but about one-third has been gradually lowered by the action of the annual rains, leaving only a single mound standing in the midst of the hollow. This was most probably the site of a temple, as a large statue is still lying there, and stones, as well as bricks, are obtained by digging in it.

To the south-west of the fort there is another extensive mass of ruins, which once formed the southern quarter of the town.

It is almost triangular in shape, the north-east and north-west faces being each 1,500 feet in length, while the south face is 2,000 feet. The height varies from 10 to 20 feet. Near the eastern angle a statue is now lying about half-way down the slope. The bricks of the wall are of large size, 18 by 11 by 3 inches.

To the east of the northern half of the town there is a large sheet of water, 3,000 feet in length from north to south, and 2,000 feet in breadth. It is possible that some portion of this may have been a natural hollow; but its present size and form are due to the artificial embankment which connects the northern end of the mass of ruins called *Dhi*, or "the mound," with the rocky ridge to the south of Deoriya. This sheet of water has no special name, but is simply called *tâl*, or "lake."

In the excavation which I made in the eastern face of the fort, I found pieces of pottery covered with a thin black glaze of metallic lustre. This kind of glazed pottery I have found in all the more ancient sites, and a complete specimen of it was exhumed in one of the Bhilsa topes as the receptacle of the relics.

I found also numerous spikes of bone varying from 2 to 3½ inches in length, and sharply pointed at both ends like tree-nails. Two specimens are shown in the accompanying plate.* They have been roughly cut into shape with a sharp knife or chisel. Many of the points are broken, but there are no perceptible marks upon them of having been used for any purpose whatever. There are no holes or notches by which they could have been fastened as arrow-heads, and I am inclined to adopt the opinion of the people that they are simply treenails of bone used for fastening together the thick planks of native doors. It is, however, quite possible that they may have

* Plate XVIII, fig. H.

been mere playthings, such as were formerly used for playing "pushpin," and are now called "spellikins."

Numerous broken statues and fragments of pillars and other remains are collected together under the pippal trees of that part of the town now called *Dhi.* Amongst these fragments I found the coping stone of a Buddhist railing,* of middle size and quite plain. Beside it were two broken pillars, one 9½ by 6¾ inches, and the other 7½ by 5 inches. The latter was a corner pillar with the rail sockets on two contiguous sides. As both were quite plain, it is probable that these two pillars belonged to the same railing as the architrave or coping just described.

I found also a stone umbrella, which is now turned upside down, and used as the receptacle of a lingam in the shape of a rounded boulder stone. A sketch of this umbrella is given in the accompanying plate,† in which the ribs are clearly defined. Two handles of umbrellas, each 6 inches in diameter, were lying in the same place.

But the commonest specimens of antiquity at Bithâ are what may be called *stone stools* or *seats.* They are generally about 15 inches in length, and are always supported on four feet. All the specimens that I met with were hollowed out on the top in the direction of the length. Some were nearly plain, but the greater number were highly ornamented. One of the narrow ends must have been the front of the stool, as the two feet of one end were generally found curved in the form of half lions, while the two back feet were quite plain. A band of flowers ornamented what may be called the frame of the stool, while the hollowed portion at top represented the cushion. Every specimen that I saw was broken across the middle of the hollow. I believe that this must have been done purposely, as no common use could have fractured these short strong pieces of stone.‡

The people have no tradition either of the age of *Bithá,* or of the cause or time of its decay. That this must have been very remote is, I think, clearly proved by the extremely gentle slope which the ruins of the fort have now assumed, and which, I believe, could only have been effected in the lapse of many centuries. The desertion of the fort may, therefore, be due to the Muhammadan conquest.

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* Plate XVIII, fig. F. † Plate XVIII, fig. G.

‡ I have since found a single specimen of the same kind of four-footed stool at Shah-Dheri, or *Taxila.* I believe that they were used by men when bathing.

GARHWA.

We are indebted to the archæological zeal of Bâbu Siva Prasâd for our first knowledge of this curious and interesting place. It is situated near the edge of the table-land, at 15 miles to the south-east of Kausâmbi, the same distance to the south-west of *Bithá*, and 25 miles to the south-west of Allahabad. It is also just 4 miles to the north-west of the railway station of Seorâjpur, and 1½ mile to the south of the village of Bhatgarh. It will be found in No. 88 sheet of the Indian Atlas, between these two places, with the simple name of "Fort," which is, of course, only a translation of the native name of Garhwâ.

This name of Garhwâ or "the Fort" is a complete misnomer, as the place is only a square enclosure around a group of temples, without any strength as a military position. The loopholed parapets, which give Garhwâ a defensive appearance, were added by Raja Vikramâditya, the great-great-grandfather of the present Bâghel Chief, Raja Banspati Sinha of Bâra, or about A. D. 1750. It is besides situated in the bed of a small stream, and in very low ground, which is more or less commanded on all sides.

The walls are of little height, and are not protected by a ditch—an oversight which could not have happened in this position if the place had been intended for defence. The recent age of the parapets is proved by one of the corbels used to support them bearing an inscription in modern letters along with the figure of a horse, which is half cut away to form the slope of the outer face of the corbel.

As it now stands, Garhwâ is a stone enclosure of pentagonal form, * the largest side on the west being 300 feet, north side 250 feet, and each of the two short eastern faces only 180 feet. The main entrance is on the south side, and there are two posterns—one at the west end of the northern face, and the other near the northern end of the eastern face. To the west there is a large sheet of water from 500 to 600 feet in length, which was formed by the western wall of the enclosure acting as an embankment right across the natural bed of the stream. An outlet for the surplus water in the rains has been cut through the fields to the north. To the east the stream has been embanked in two

* Plate XIX.

places; but only the upper one at present holds water, and that imperfectly, as the embankment is broken, and the water is now some 400 feet distant from the walls. When the embankment was intact, the lake must certainly have reached up to these steps, as there are projecting stones placed at intervals in one of the lower courses which were intended for bathers to stand upon just above the level of the water. At the base of the western wall there is a similar flight of steps leading down to the water's edge, and extending along both the north and south banks of the little lake.

The whole of the interior has not yet been explored, as it is almost entirely filled with a dense and impenetrable jungle. But much of it has now been cleared, and all the principal remains have perhaps been discovered. But much still remains to be done, and, until the whole place is thoroughly cleared, it would be rash to say that nothing of importance is now likely to be found.

Inside the enclosure there is a modern dwelling house in the shape of a square court surrounded with rooms. The doorways are of late Muhammadan style, the same as those of the corner towers of the enclosure, and there can be no doubt that this house was built at the same time as the parapet walls, when the place was made into a defensive position.

The oldest remains in Garhwâ belong to the age of the Guptas. These are all of pink sandstone, of a much finer grain than the grey sandstone of the later works. The principal sculpture is a long bas-relief on the face of an architrave or beam. On the left appears the sun with a singular head dress. In the middle stands a raja very scantily clad amidst a crowd of figures, with an attendant holding an umbrella over his head. There are also two banghy bearers. The architrave is supported by two pillars, also of pink sandstone, but it is perhaps doubtful whether they are now in their original position. There are several mason's marks on the pillars, one of which appears to be intended for "400," but the figures are comparatively modern.

The Gupta inscription was found by Bâbu Siva Prasâd built into the wall of one of the rooms of the modern dwelling house. Unfortunately it is incomplete; but it is not improbable that when the place is thoroughly cleared and explored, the missing half of this inscription may be found. It is injured in many places; but the portions that still

remain legible show that the record was divided into two separate inscriptions by a line drawn right across the stone between the two. The left hand side of the stone is unbroken, but a portion is lost at the top, and at least one-half is missing from the right hand. This is shown by the letters which I have added to the 9th line of the inscription to complete the sense. The missing portion might be increased by the addition of the word *pravardhamâna* before *râjye*, but I think that this word was not in the original, as the 10th line would then be too far extended for the few letters which it is possible to add for its completion.

I will make no attempt to read the upper part of the inscription, but beginning with the 9th line, the following portions can be made out with tolerable certainty :*—

9.—*Paramabhagavata mahâ* (râjâdhirâja Sri Chandra Gupta râ)
10.—*jye Samvatsare* 86 * * * * (etasya).
11.—*pûrvvaye Pâtaliputra* * * *
12.—*bhavye * syâchâryyayi* * * *
13.—* * * *punyo pachaya* * *
14.—*Sadâmâtâ sa*menyâda* * * *
15.—*Dinârâh dase,* 10, * * *
16.—*dharmma Skandadhyuchchhi* *

1.—*Jitam bhagavata pa* * *
2.—*Sri Kumâra Gupta* * *
3.—* * * *
4.—* * * *
5.—*ta * Sada* tradi* * *
6.—* *ke dinârâh* 10 *bha* * *
7.—*tisattrivi dinâras traya* *
8.—*tyatma patya mahapa* *
9.—*goninda* 30 *

In the upper inscription, the title of *Paramabhagavata* almost certainly belongs to Chandra Gupta II, as he is the first of the dynasty to whom it is applied in the pillar inscriptions of Bhitari and Bihâr, as well as on the coins. In the 10th line the word *Samvatsare* is followed by two figures which I read as 86. As the 11th line begins with the well known word *pûrvvaye,* we know that the 10th line must have ended with either *asya* or *etasya,* and between that word and the figures 86 there would have been the name of the month and the number of the day. At the end of the line comes

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* Plate XX, fig. 1.

the name of the great capital *Pâtaliputra*, and in the 15th line we have the words *dinârâh dase* 10, the sum of "ten, 10, dinârs."

This is rather a meagre amount of information, but it is important in connecting the Guptas with *Pâtaliputra*, and in authenticating the use of the name of *Dinâr* for the well known gold coins of the Gupta dynasty, which had already become familiar to us from the Sânchi tope inscription of Chandra Gupta II, dated in S. 93. Guided by the style of that inscription, I presume that this Garhwâ inscription most probably recorded the perpetual gift of 10 *dinârs* for some special purpose in the Samvat year 86 (or A. D. 164), during the reign of the supreme lord, the king of kings, Chandra Gupta.

The lower inscription opens with the words *Jitam bhagavata*, which also form the opening of a rock inscription of somewhat earlier date at Tushâm. The second line has the name of Sri Kumâra Gupta, who, as we know from other inscriptions, was the son and successor of Chaṇdra Gupta II. In the 6th line the same money gift appears again as *dinârâh* 10, or 10 *dinârs*. I conclude, therefore, that the original complete inscription recorded the continuance of the gift of 10 *dinârs* by Kumâra Gupta, which had formerly been given by his father Chandra Gupta II. In this case, the missing half of the inscription, when found, will probably give us the date of Kumâra Gupta's succession to the throne.

The next remains in point of antiquity are three seated colossal statues of Brahmâ, Vishnu, and Siva, which are now placed against the southern wall of the enclosure. These statues, which are all of large size, were the gift of the Jogi Jwâlâditya, the son of Bhaṭṭananta, as recorded in the inscriptions on their pedestals. The statues are 6 feet high and 4 feet broad, and are made of coarse grey sandstone. There is no date in any of the inscriptions, but the style of the letters is that of the Kutila character of the 10th century. Copies of the three inscriptions are given in the accompanying plate.*

UNDER STATUE OF BRAHMA.

1.—*Sri Bhaṭṭananta Sutenâyam (Jwa) lâdityena Yogina*
2.—*Chitru * * Krito Brahmâ jnâna Karmmasa * * yah*

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* Plate XX, figs. 2, 3 and 4.

UNDER STATUE OF VISHNU.

1.—*Sri Bhaṭṭânanta Sutenâyam Jwâlâdityena Yogina jnâna Karmmatako Vishnu Râmu deveti*
2.—*Kirttitah*

UNDER STATUE OF SIVA.

1.—*Sri Bhaṭṭânanta Sutenâyam Jwâlâdityena Yogina jnâna bha* * *Sama*
2.—*Yukto Rudroyoṭo* * *ruh kritah*

These inscriptions show that the whole of the three statues were the gifts of the jogi (or devotee) Jwâlâditya, the son of Bhaṭṭananta, or Ananta-bhaṭṭa. To the father I would attribute the founding of *Bhaṭṭa-grâm*, which is mentioned in other inscriptions at Garhwâ, and which was most probably the original name of the present village of *Bhaṭgarh*. The old village must have been situated between the temples now enclosed in Garhwâ and the present Bhaṭgarh, as the ground between the two sites is covered with broken bricks. According to this conjecture, the name of *Bhaṭṭa-grâma*, or *Bhaṭgarh*, could not have been older than the 10th century. The Gupta inscription and sculptures, however, show that the site was occupied shortly after the Christian era, but we have no clue as to the name which it bore at that early period.

In a small room against the wall in the north-west corner of the enclosure there are no less than eight large statues of Vishnu and two of the Varâha Avatâra or Boar incarnation all huddled together. They have fallen over and against each other so awkwardly and inconveniently, that I found it impossible to move them without levers, and I am therefore unable to say whether they were inscribed, or what was their age. But I conclude that some of them must have belonged to the large temple which is still standing in the enclosure, and which I am now about to describe.

The only existing temple stands in the south-west corner of the enclosure. It is about 55 feet long by 30 feet broad, with the entrance towards the east, and in front of it at a short distance there are two baolis or reservoirs, which are now filled with jangal instead of water. The temple consists of two parts: an open pillared hall or *mandapa*, which is about 30 feet square, supported on sixteen pillars, and a sanctum or *garbhagriha*, which is a square of about 25 feet with the corners indented, and with niches in each of the three unattached faces. As all the statues have been re-

moved from the outside as well as the inside of the temple, there is nothing to show to whom it was dedicated. Even its very name has been lost; and neither the inscription of the builder, nor the records of pilgrims who afterwards visited the shrine, make any mention of the god to whom it was dedicated.

The inscriptions are recorded on the faces of the pillars inside the temple. That of the founder is placed immediately beneath the figure of a man which is declared to be his image.*

No. 1.

ON PILLAR TO NORTH.

1.—*Sri Navagráma Bhaṭṭa-grámiya Vastavya Kayastha*
2.—*Thakkura Sri Kunda Pálaputra Thakkura Sri Rana Palasya*
3.—*Murttih Ganita Karaiyam Saṃvat* 1199
4.—*Sutradhara Sri Chhitapaiputra Sri*
5.—*Balhana.*

"Image of Thakkur, the fortunate Rana Pâla, son of Thakkur, the fortunate Kunda Pâla, a Sri Vâstavya Kayastha, of the auspicious new village of Bhaṭṭagrâma. Sculptor Sri Chhitpai's son, the fortunate Bâlhana."

No. 2.

Karmmath ávalekhi Thakkura Chîtháyádhara

"The anointed sacrificer, Thakkur Chîthâyâdhara."

I take *ávalekhi* to be the sectarial mark or *tika* which every Hindu assumes when engaged in religious rites. *Karmmatha* is the performer of the rites.

No. 3.

1.—*Swastithanadam Bhaṭṭa-grâmiya*
2.—*Sri Sakasena jâtiya*
3.—*Kayastha Sri Sri Chandra*
4.—*Putrakamathavalekhi*
5.—*Sri Mahidharakasya*
6.—*Nitya Pranamyeti*
7.—*Samvat* 1199

"It is well done. The anointed sacrificer, the fortunate *Mahidhara*, son of the fortunate *Sri Chandra*, a Kayastha of the fortunate *Sakasena* class (of the village), of *Bhaṭṭa-grâma*, offers perpetual adoration. The year 1199."

* Plate XXI.

No. 4.

Sutradhara Sri Chchhichchha Suta, Sri Tálukena ghatitam

"The son of the fortunate mason *Chchhichchha* joined with *Taiuka.*"

No. 5.

Rudra-putra layana ita Sri Sri-Pála

This is a record of the fortunate *Sri Pâla,* son of *Rudra,* who is the performer in No. 11. I do not understand the other words preceding *Sri* in the first line.

No. 6.

Vantha Maharadhabhuka

I am unable to make sense of this short record.

No. 7.

Pandita Sri Maluna
Sádhu Tilakena nitya pranama

These are two separate records.

The *Pandita Sri Maluna*—"Perpetual adoration by *Sadhu Tilaka.*"

No. 8.

Thakkura Sri Gangadhara eta

"The fortunate Thakkur Gangadhara * *"

No. 9.

1.—*Ayabala páttaláyám Syámadhá grámiya Brahma*
2.—*na Thakkura Sri Ramaswámi putra Karmmathari*
3.—*Thakkur Sri Gangukye (na) nitya pranamati* 1199

Omitting the two opening words, which I do not understand, this inscription records the—

"Perpetual adoration by the duly marked sacrificer, the fortunate Thakkur *Ganguka,* son of the fortunate Brahman Thakkur *Ramaswâmi* (of the village), of *Syamadhagrama.* The year 1199."

No. 10.

Sri Majhiâma—grámiya Kayastha Thakkura Sri Dhane Suta Sri Jaiteko nityam pranamyati

"Perpetual adoration by the fortunate *Jaitaka,* son of the fortunate Kayastha Thakkur *Dhani,* of the auspicious village of *Majhiâma.*"

No. 11.

Sutradhara Sri Padumâdityaputra Rudra Sri Katikenaghatitam Sam 1199

"Rudra, son of the fortunate Padmâditya, mason, joined with Sri Katika. The year 1199."

From these inscriptions it would appear that the temple was first opened in the Samvat year 1199, or A. D. 1142, when the different Thakkurs and others paid their adoration. The founder of the temple was *Raṇa Pâla*, the son of *Kunda Pâla*, a Sribâstam Kayastha; at the same time a new village, *Navagrâma*, would appear to have been established as an offshoot of *Bhattagrâma*. The name of the latter is no doubt preserved in that of the present village of *Burgudh* (or *Bhatgarh*), one mile and a half to the north, as the lands of Garhwâ touch the lands of that village. The ground between the two places is covered with stones and broken bricks, showing that *Bhattagrâma* must have been much more extensive in former days.

Near the images of Brahmâ, Vishnu, and Siva there is a large statue of a raja on horseback. It is broken in two pieces, and the head of the horse is gone. But it is valuable as showing the Hindu military costume half a century before the Muhammadan conquest. I conclude that the statue belongs to that period for two reasons. According to tradition, the builder of the temple was the minister of the reigning raja, and as he placed a small image of himself in the temple, it is highly probable that he would have set up a large image of his master. The walls of the enclosure are said to have been built by the raja himself, who is named *Sankarju*, or *Sankara Deva*, and who, according to the genealogy, lived twenty generations before the present raja, and was the eleventh in descent from *Vyâghra Deva*, the common ancestor of the Bâghel Chiefs of Rewa and Bâra. The date of his death is given as Samvat 683, either A. D. 626 or 761. The latter is the more probable, as there is no extant example of the use of the Vikramâditya Samvat in the seventh century. Adopting 761 A. D. as the real date, the average length of each generation will be a little over 36 years, which would place the accession of Sankara Deva in 1126 A. D. and his death in 1162. As this period includes the actual date of the building of the temple in A. D. 1144, I think that we

may accept the account handed down in the raja's family as being correct. The figure on horseback will then represent Raja *Sankara Deva* in the Hindu military costume of the twelfth century. He appears to have on a quilted dress, with long ornamented boots reaching above the knee-caps. He wears also both bracelets and armlets, and the *Janeo*, or neckstring of one of the twice-born classes. But as he carries a sword in his right hand, he cannot be a Brahman, and must therefore be a Kshatriya, which agrees with the identification already made, that the statue represents *Sankara Deva*, the Bâghel Raja of Bâra.

LATIYA.

Latiya is a small village about three miles from the railway station of Zamâniya, 36 miles to the east of Banâras, and 12 miles to the south of Ghâzipur. The village receives its name from a stone *lât*, or monolith, standing on the western end of a mound of brick ruins, about 500 feet long by 200 feet broad, which is surrounded on all but the east side by a shallow sheet of water. The pillar is a single circular shaft of polished sandstone, 1 foot 8½ inches in diameter, where it springs from the square base, and 20 feet in height. The square portion now stands 2 feet 6 inches out of the ground, but only 1 foot 6 inches of this portion is properly smoothed. On the top of the shaft there is a bell-shaped capital, 2 feet in height, surmounted by an upper capital formed by eight lions facing outwards. The capital was once crowned by two half-length human figures back-to-back, resting on a circle of lotus leaves. This stone, which is now lying on the ground, has a socket hole 9 inches deep. The total height of the pillar was just 30 feet, according to the following details:—

	Ft.	In.
Two human figures at top	4	0
Eight lion capital	2	6
Bell capital	2	0
Circular shaft	20	0
Square shaft above ground	1	6
	30	0

The pillar is about 18 inches out of the perpendicular, but it is firmly fixed in the ground by four large upright stones,

one at each side. The actual depth of the column itself below ground is only 4 feet $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches; but as long as the four upright stones retain their position, the column is perfectly safe. There is no inscription, and not even a single letter upon any part of the pillar. From the shape of the bell capital, and the medium size of the bricks in the mound, 14 by 9 by $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, I judge the pillar to belong to the age of the Guptas.

Nothing trustworthy is known by the people either about the pillar or the place. It stands only a short distance from the town of Zamâniya, to which all the stories refer. According to the Hindus, *Jamadagni Rishi* and his wife lived in a hut on the bank of the Ganges close to the present town, whence it received its name of *Jamadagniya*, which they say is the true form of the present name. The Rishi's wife was a sister of the queen of Raja Madan, who lived in the town. One day when Raja Madan and his wife were passing by the Rishi's hut, on a visit to his father-in-law, Raja Gâdh of Gâdhipur, the sage's wife wished to entertain her sister and brother-in-law. The Rishi gave his consent very reluctantly. The raja was accordingly treated with the dignity due to his rank, the whole of the entertainment having been supplied by the never-failing cow *Kâmdhenu*. The raja was surprised, but instead of being thankful, he carried off *Kâmdhenu* by force. Raja Madan was afterwards overcome in fight by Parasurâma, son of Jamadagni, and *Kâmdhenu* was recovered.

The raja was humbled and offered a *jag* (*yajnya* or sacrifice) in expiation of his sin. No less than eleven *padams* of rupees were expended on an *aswamedhjag* by Raja Madan. About 40 years ago a copper-plate inscription giving an account of Raja Madan's sacrifice was found in Zamâniya by a Musalman. It was enclosed in a pewter box inside a stone box. The copper-plate was thrown either into the Ganges or into the *Makna* tank, owing to a quarrel which arose on the Tiwâri Brahmans of the place asserting that it recorded a grant of land made to their ancestor by Raja Madan.

After the sacrifice the raja erected a temple to *Madaneswar* at *Latiya*, and set up the *lât* on the mound where it now stands, as a memorial that he wished to build a city on the site of *Jamaniya*, which was to be called Banâras. But the Brahmans considered the site not sufficiently auspicious, and the design was abandoned. *Jamaniya* was then called *Madan*

Banâras, that is, the "desired or intended Banâras"—a name which is mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari.

Such is the story which is now in everybody's mouth, the whole of which I believe to have been invented within the last three centuries by the fertile mendacity of the Brahmans. The place was originally called *Madan Banâras*, but the whole story about Jamadagni has been invented to account for the name of Jamaniya, as they pronounce it, but which should properly be written *Zamâniya*, as the name was given to it by Khan Zamân, Governor of Jaunpur, in the early part of the reign of Akbar.* The town was commanded by a faithful follower of Khan Zamân, named Asadullah Khan, who on his master's death in A. H. 974 wished to make over Zamâniya to Sulaimân, King of Bengal, but he was prevented by the celebrated Munim Khan.† Since that time there has been no change of name, and the whole story of Jamadagni is a mere Brahmanical invention to account for the name from a Hindu point of view.

AKHANDHA.

Nearly due south of Ghazipur, and between the railway station and town of Dildârnagar, there is a large mound of ruins which the people call Akhandhâ. The name of Dildârnagar was derived from a Pathân named Dildar Khan so late as the reign of Aurangzib, before which it was called Akhandhâ. It is said to have belonged originally to Raja Nala, and the large tank to the west, which is now called *Râni Sâgar*, or the "Queen's Lake," is attributed to Nala's wife, the famous Damayanti.

The whole mound of ruins is about 300 feet long by 250 feet broad, on the top of which the remains of the temples and other buildings occupy symmetrical positions, as shown in the accompanying plate.‡ Exactly in the middle are the foundations of two temples marked A and B in the plan, of which A was certainly dedicated to Siva, as it still contains a lingam of black stone *in situ*, although one-half of the *argha*, or receptacle of grey stone, is gone. The entrance was to the east, with a water-spout to the north. The external dimensions of this small temple are only 17 feet

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* Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari, p. 320.
† Ibid, p. 427.
‡ Plate XXII.

6 inches by 15 feet 8 inches. The external dimensions of B are almost the same, or 15 feet 3 inches by 15 feet 2 inches. Between the two temples there was a broken figure of the four-armed Durgâ seated on a lion in black basalt.

The mound marked C in the plan is now crowned by a dry well; but as this mound possesses finer and larger remains of architecture than any of the others, I infer that it must have been the site of a considerable temple, and that the well is a modern construction. Here I found all the stones of a fine doorway of a temple except the right jamb. Its dimensions are 9 feet 7 inches in height by 6 feet 4 inches in breadth. In the centre of the lower lintel there is a seated figure of Lakshmi being anointed by two elephants, with Vishnu over the right jamb and Siva over the left. The temple was therefore dedicated to Lakshmi, most probably under the familiar form of Lakshmi-Nârâyan. The upper lintel also has a female in the middle. The left jamb is divided into panels with various figures; and the sill is ornamented with a row of musicians, the whole being surrounded with a rich leaf border. Altogether, it is a fine specimen of Hindu work.

I found also the base of a pillar 1 foot 11½ inches square below and 1 foot 4 inches square at top, with a height of 1 foot 1½ inch. An excavation brought to light a massive square pillar with the corners indented, which evidently belonged to the base just mentioned, as it was just 1 foot 3 inches square. A pilaster base of the same style and dimensions was discovered near the foot of the mound. The temple which possessed the fine doorways and richly ornamented pillars just discovered must have been of considerable size, but nothing is known about it. Most probably it was destroyed when the Muhammadans under Dildâr Beg settled here in the reign of Aurangzib, and changed the name of the place to Dildârnagar.

The other remains at Akhandhâ are of no importance, but the mound marked C, which I have just described, would, I think, well repay a careful exploration.

BAGHSAR OR BUXAR.

I visited Buxar for the express purpose of ascertaining whether there were any grounds for its identification with the *Mo-ho-so-lo* or Mahâsâra of the Chinese traveller Hwen

Thsang, as suggested by Mr. W. Oldham in his interesting account of the Ghâzipur District.* He quotes the Emperor Baber as writing Buksera, which he thinks may have been originally Bahasara, which would be a natural and well known alteration of Mahasara. I have, however, now visited both Buxar and *Masâr*, and I am quite convinced that the latter is the true representative of Hwen Thsang's *Mahâsâra*, as will be shown when I come to describe that place.

The first name of Baghsar is said to have been *Vedagarbha*, "the womb or origin of the Vedas," as here resided many of the holy men who were authors of the Vedic hymns. For the same reason it was also called *Siddhâsrama* and *Mahâsrama*, that is, "the asylum of holy men," and the "great asylum."

The name of *Baghsar* is variously derived. Near the temple of *Gauri-Sankar* there is a *pokhar*, or holy tank, now called *Baghsar*, which is said to have been originally *Aghsar*, or the "effacer of sin," from the sin-cleansing properties of its waters. In process of time the initial *A* was changed to *V* in accordance with Sanskrit rule, and the tank has since been called *Vaghsar*, which gives its name to the place.

Another account says that a Rishi, named Bedsira, having transformed himself into a tiger to frighten the Rishi Durvâsa, was doomed by Durvâsa to retain the face of a tiger. He was restored to his proper form, at the suggestion of Sivasbull Nandi, by bathing in the holy pool of *Aghsaras* at *Vedagarbha*, and then worshipping *Gauri-Sankar*. In remembrance of this event the *aghsar*, or "sin cleanser," was afterwards called *Vyâghrasaras* or *Baghsar*, the "tiger tank." My informant added that this account was contained in the Brahmanda Purâna.

Others say that it was a raja named Vyâghra who had the tiger's face. But all these are evidently only idle inventions to account for the name; *ex vocabulo fabula*. One informant said the place was also called *Chaitra-ban*, which probably refers to the same story, as *chitra* or *chita*, "spotted," is one of the names of the leopard, and is sometimes applied to the *striped* tiger.

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* Historical and Statistical Memoir of the Ghâzipur District, by W. Oldham, Esq., p. 37.

The situation of Baghsar is very fine: on a high bluff bank, 50 feet above the Ganges, and with a high bank on the opposite side. The place teems with ancient names—*Rameswara*, *Viswamitra-ki-asrama*, *Parusrama*; but there are no remains of antiquity to be seen. It is a purely Brahmanical site; but it possesses nothing of any archæological interest, although it is very ancient as well as very holy.

MAHASARA OR MASAR.

Masâr has been identified by Mr. Vivien de St. Martin and myself with the *Mo-ho-so-lo* of Hwen Thsang. Mr. W. Oldham, in his account of the District of Ghâzipur, has proposed to identify Baghsar (or Buxar of the maps) with the *Mo-ho-so-lo* of the Chinese pilgrim; but I have now visited both places, and am quite satisfied that my identification is correct. The Chinese syllables *Mo-ho-so-lo* are transcribed by Mr. Julien as *Mahâsâra*; and that this was the actual name of the present *Masar* is proved by no less than seven inscriptions, nearly 500 years old, which still exist in the Jain temple of Pârasnâth. In all of these the name of the place is written *Mahâsâra*. At the present day, according to a modern inscription in the same Jain temple, the name is written *Masâdh*, and pronounced *Masârh*. The site also agrees with the position of Hwen Thsang's *Mo-ho-so-lo*, as determined by his distances both to the east and west. It was 600 *li*, or 100 miles, plus some short distance not mentioned, to the east of Banâras, and 250 *li*, or upwards of 80 miles, to the south-west of *Vaisali*. These distances and bearings point to some place near Ara, from which Masâr is only six miles to the west. But Hwen Thsang further describes Mahâsâra as a place inhabited by Brahmans, who had no respect for the law of Buddha. This also agrees with Masâr, in which I could not find a single trace of Buddhism, although there are numerous images of the Brahmanical gods.

According to the people, confirmed by Rudra Datta of Ara, the original name of Masâr was *Sonitpur*. It was the residence of Bânâsur, whose daughter *Ukha* was married to Aniruddha, the grandson of Krishna. A large statue called Bânâsur formerly existed on the top of a ruined mound in Masâr. It was drawn and described by Buchanan, but it is now lying at the bottom of a deep pool made by a railway

contractor named *Babu Bahadur*, who excavated this mound as well as others for bricks, of which Masâr supplied sufficient to ballast seven miles of railway. As Bânâsur is held in bad repute as an enemy of the gods, his statue was daily pelted with bricks by the village boys, and none interfered to save it when the railway contractor left it on the edge of a perpendicular excavation 30 feet deep, from whence, on the first fall of rain, it fell headlong into the pool, and was soon covered by water, which, at the time of my visit, was 6 feet deep.

According to Brahma Datta of Ara, the town of Masâr was originally called *Padmavatipura*, and this name is said to have adhered to the place until a Jain Kshatriya of Mârwâr named Vimalanâtha became the proprietor, when the name was changed to *Matisâra*, which has since been corrupted into Masâr. Connected with this account is the fact that the only Rajputs in Masâr are Rahtors of Mârwâr, whose ancestors, *Kharg-si* and *Biram-si*, are said to have come there fourteen generations back. This would indicate a period of four or five centuries, and as all the Jain inscriptions are dated in Samvat 1443, or A. D. 1386, it seems probable that this settlement of the Rahtor Jains may have been connected with the building of the first Jain temple, to which the inscribed statues belonged. I note that the death of Biram De, or Virama Deva, the Rathor chief of Jodhpur, is placed by Tod in A. D. 1381, and his son Chonda left fourteen sons, according to the Chauhân bard Mûkji, of whom several probably emigrated.

From the way in which Hwen Thsang speaks of Mahâsâra, it would appear that it must have been situated not far from the south bank of the Ganges. At present it is 9 miles from the river; but it stands upon the high bank of the old bed of the Ganges, which is very clearly defined for 25 or 30 miles, running past Bîhiya, Masâr, and Ara. Opposite Masâr, two of the old channels are now called *Gangi* and *Gângi*; and the people are unanimous in their belief that the Ganges formerly ran past Bîhiya, Masâr and Ara. Mr. Oldham thinks that the change must have taken place long before the time of Hwen Thsang; but from the account of Fa Hian, I gather that the change was still going on in the beginning of the 5th century. In going from Pâtaliputra to Banâras, Fa Hian "kept along the course of the Ganges, and after going 10 *yojanas* in a westerly direction, arrived

at a Vihâra, called "*Desert*," in which Buddha resided. Priests still resided in it. Still keeping along the course of the Ganges, and going west 12 *yojanas*, we arrive at the country of Kâsi and the city of Banâras."* Remusat translates the Chinese term by "vast solitude," which would seem to include the Sanscrit *Maha*, or "great," as part of the name, as in *Mahâsâra*. But the two distances of 10 and 12 *yojanas* point to the neighbourhood of Bhojpur as the actual position of the "*Desert* monastery." From this point to the junction of the Ghâgra river, the changes in the course of the Ganges have been very extensive, even in recent times, as may be seen in the large tracts of desert land now lying to the north of the river, which, during the present century, has been working back towards the south.

The ancient remains at Masâr are confined to the foundations of a few small temples, and to a large number of Brahmanical statues. In the accompanying map† all the ancient sites are distinguished by separate letters, with the single exception of the Jain temple marked A; the whole of the existing remains are Brahmanical. The principal ruins stand on a mound, about 1,000 feet in length by 400 feet in breadth, immediately to the south of the Kundwa Tâl, and about 800 feet to the west of Masâr.

A is a modern Jain temple dedicated to Pârswanâth. It was unfinished when Buchanan saw it, and was not completed until A. D. 1819, the date on the image of Pârswanâth being S. 1876. The temple is small and poor, the eight Jain figures noticed by Buchanan‡ are still to be seen, with their seven dated inscriptions, tolerably perfect, in spite of the wasting effect of their daily ablutions. In the accompanying plate I have given three specimens of these inscriptions, all of Samvat 1443, as well as the modern inscription on the image of Pârswanâth.§

No. 1.

INSCRIPTION ON THE PEDESTAL OF AN IMAGE OF ADINATH, WITH A BULL SYMBOL.

1.—*Sam.* 1443 *Jyeshta Sudi* 5, *Guro Mahâsârasya ja*
2.—*Râja Nâtha Deva râjye Kâshta Sanghe âchâ*
3.—*ryya Kamala Kirtti Jai Sarangâchârj*
4.—* * *vaputrala* * * *

* Beal's Fa Hian, C. XXXIV, p. 134.
† Plate XXIII.
‡ Eastern India, Vol. I, p. 416.
§ Plate XXIV.

This inscription records the dedication of the image by Sârang (or by his son) in the Samvat year 1443, on Thursday, the 5th of the waxing moon of Jyeshta, in the reign of Raja Nâtha Deva, of Mahâsâra, under the teacher Kamala Kirtti of the Kâshta Sangha (or congregation.)

No. 2.

INSCRIPTION ON THE PEDESTAL OF AN IMAGE, OF WHICH THE SYMBOL IS WORN AWAY.*

1.—*Sam.* 1443, *Samae Jyeshta Sudi* 5, *Guro*
2. *Raja Nátha deva pravardhamâne*† *Mahásárasya Káshta Sanghe Mathuranwae*
3.—*pushkaragane pratitha* vaja Kamalakirtti Deva*
4.—*Jaiswala Vesala Ragacharj* * * *
5.—*putra lavama Deva Sama* * * *
6.—*yana pratishta** *

This inscription records the dedication of an image on the same day as the preceding one, the names of the Raja Nâtha Deva and his teacher Kamala Kirtti being especially distinct.

No. 3.

INSCRIPTION ON THE BASE OF AN IMAGE OF NEMINATH, WITH SHELL SYMBOL.

1.—*Sam.* 1443, *Jyeshta Sudi* 5, *Guro Mahâsârasya na (?)*
2.—*Kâshta Sanghe Achârj-Kamala Kirtti Deva*
3.—*Jai Mahansâchârj Ude Sidi*

This inscription records the gift of an image of Neminâth by one Ude Sidi on the same date as the others, and under the same raja and religious teacher.

The four remaining inscriptions on the old images being all of the same date, and couched in the same terms, it is unnecessary to transcribe them. Two of them are placed below images of Adinâth with the bull symbol, one below Ajitanâth with the elephant symbol, and one below Sambhunâth with the horse symbol.

The inscription on the pedestal of the modern figure of Pârswanâth is a much longer one, and requires to be noticed, as it contains some names of interest.

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* A rude drawing of one of these images of Adinâth is given in Buchanan's Eastern India, Vol. I, p. 469, Plate VIII, fig. 3.

† Word *rajye* is omitted in the original.—See Plate XXIV.

1.—*Sam. 876 Vesákh Sukle 6 Mule Sanghe Sri Kunda kun dácháriyanwaye bhaṭṭáraka Viswa'bhushanaji bhaṭṭára*
2.—*ka Sri Jinendra bhushanaji bhaṭṭáraka Mahendra bhushaji tadamnake Agrotakánwaye Kanila gotre Sri*
3.—*Sah-ji Dashanáwara Singhasya putra Sri Bábu Sankaralál-ji tasya putra putraschatwârah Babu Sri Ratan Chandji*
4.—*Sri Bábu Kirtti Chand, Sri Babu Gupal Chand, Sri Babu Pyári Lál Arâmnagar Vasibhih, Masârhnaga*
5.—*re Jina Mandir bimba pratimakar* * * * * *
Angrej rájye varttamâne Kárushadese Sri

This inscription records that on the 6th of the waxing moon of Vaisâkh, in the Samvat year 1876 (A. D. 1819), during the prosperous English rule over *Kárusha-desa*, the image (of Pârswanâth) was dedicated in the Jain temple of the town of Masârh by Bâbu Sankar Lâl of Arâmnagar and his four sons, &c., &c.

In this modern record we find the district of Shâhâbâd identified with the ancient *Kárusha-desa* of the Purânas, while the town of Ara (Arrah of maps) appears in the new form of *Arâmnagar*, which is most probably the true form of the name as handed down in the Jain books. The mention of the English rule is also very curious, as it is the first instance that I have seen of its record on a sculptured monument. Pyâri Lâl, the youngest of the four sons, was alive in January 1872.

The *jati*, or officiating priest of the Jain temple, told me that the original temple was built by *Deonâth*, who is evidently the raja named in the inscriptions as Nâtha Deva.

B is a Brahmanical temple dedicated to a female figure called Devi, but which is clearly an image of Saraswati, with the *hansa* or goose on the pedestal. Collected around the goddess there are the following images :—

2 Vishnus.	2 Suryas.
1 Gauri-Sankar.	1 Trimurtti.
2 Nava-grahas.	1 Gomukhi.

Under a pippal tree close by and near to the Jain temple there is a headless naked image in blue stone. The figure, which is squatted, with both hands in the lap, was probably the principal image of the original Jain temple.

C is a large square pillar which is said to have been brought from the great mound at F.

D is a small lingam temple, with the lingam still *in situ* between four walls.

E is a small mound with a fine well close by. On the top is an image of Nandi in blue basalt, together with a lingam and several carved stones of a temple.

F was a large and lofty mound, called the house of Bânâsur. It is now a deep hole, half filled with water, which was made by a railway contractor in excavating bricks. Buchanan says that it had "evidently been a temple," and this conclusion is, I think, fully confirmed by the square form of the hole and by the square pillar C, which is now standing on the other mound to the south of the Kundwa Tâl. The people were unanimous in stating that the pillar was brought from the temple of Bânâsur.

GGG are low square mounds to the north of the Kundwa Tâl and village now called simply *Dibli*, or "mounds." They have been repeatedly excavated for bricks. Nothing is known about them, but they are evidently the remains of temples.

H is a large tree on a mound to the north of the small hamlet of Kurwa or Kundwa, which is still excavated for bricks. It was most probably the site of a temple.

K is an old *Bat*, or banian tree, with a large hollow inside, which has been turned into an extempore temple for the deposit of all the images that were found in the neighbouring mounds, when they were being excavated for bricks by the railway contractor. The tree is standing on the high bank of the old bed of the Ganges, and all the fields around, to the east towards Kurwa, and to the south towards the bed of the great lake called *Diga*, or *Ukha Pokhar*, rise and fall in rounded undulations like sand hills. All of them contain bricks, and one of them, near the railway, on the bank of the Banâs, or old Ganges, is said to have yielded only two years ago no less than 200 ancient gold coins. I was not fortunate enough to obtain even a sight of one, but I understand that the railway contractors at Bîhiya still possess several of them.

The present town of Masâr is about half a mile in length from east to west, and one-third of a mile in breadth. It contains no less than fourteen fine old wells, and several deep tanks, and was evidently much more extensive in former days. If we include the brick mounds in the fields between Kundwa and the Gângi river, and the different mounds to the north called *Dibli*, the old town of Mahâsâra must have been nearly one mile in length from east to west, by half a mile in width, with a population of about 20,000.

ARAMNAGAR OR ARA.

Before I visited *Ara* I had a vague impression that the name of the place might have some connection with *Aranya*, a "desert," and that the place itself might perhaps be the spot described by Hwen Thsang where the "*demons of the desert* abused their strength and power and feasted on the blood and flesh of men."*

In this part of the pilgrim's narrative there is unfortunately a complete want of his usual accuracy and precision. From Banâras he followed the course of the Ganges down its northern bank until opposite Mahâsâra, when he crossed the river to the south and entered that town. On leaving Mahâsâra, he states that there was a temple of Nârâyana Deva on the north bank of the river, and that 30 *li*, or five miles to the east of the temple, there was a stupa built by Asoka with a lion pillar, set up in commemoration of the conversion of the "demons of the desert," mentioned above, who were in the habit of eating men. From this place he made 100 *li*, or 17 miles, to the south-east to another stupa, which the Brahman who had divided the relics of Buddha after the Nirvâna had raised over the vessel which he had used in the measurement. This was the famous *Drona stupa*, so called because the vessel used was a *Drona* measure. On leaving this place he *crossed the Ganges* to the north-east, and travelled from 140 to 150 *li*, from 24 to 25 miles, to Vaisâli.

On comparing the pilgrim's movements after leaving Mahâsâra, it will be seen that the text implies that he *twice crossed the Ganges to the north*; one of these crossings must therefore be an error, and this I suppose to be the first crossing. After describing Mahâsâra, the pilgrim simply states that "to the north of the Ganges there was a temple dedicated to the god Nârâyana,* *" and that, after having travelled 30 *li*, or five miles, *to the east of the temple*, he reached the stupa built by Asoka on the spot where the "demons of the desert" had been overcome and converted by Buddha. If we take the text as it stands, Hwen Thsang must have crossed the Ganges to the north from Mahâsâra to the temple of Nârâyana, and have thence gone directly east for five miles to the stupa of the "demons of the desert." It

* Julien's Hwen Thsang, II, 381.

is in this part of the account that I think there is a mistake in the text in making the starting point from the temple of Nârâyana Deva instead of from Mahâsâra. I suppose that the temple stood on the opposite bank of the Ganges within sight of Mahâsâra, just as another temple of Nârâyana now stands on the opposite bank of the Ganges in sight of Baghsar (Buxar). To have reached the temple, the pilgrim must have crossed the Ganges in a boat, and having done so, the easiest way of reaching *Arâ* was to continue his journey by boat down the river. In this case the distance to the stupa of the "demons of the desert" would have been the same, whether reckoned from the temple or from Mahâsâra.

By adopting this explanation we get rid of the error of making the pilgrim twice cross the Ganges in the same direction, and are able to conduct him to Arâ, whose existing legends correspond so minutely with the pilgrim's story of the "demons of the desert" as to leave no doubt in my mind of the identity of the two places.

The legend of Arâ is very variously told by the people, but all its main points are the same. The old name of Arâ was *Ekachakra* or *Chakrapura.* Close by stood the village of *Bakri,* where lived the powerful Asur named *Baka* or *Bakra,* whose daily food was a human being, the victim being supplied alternately by *Bakri* and *Chakrapur.* The five Pândus having arrived at Chakrapur during their wanderings were entertained by a Brahman. While they stayed in his house it came to the Brahman's turn to supply a victim for the demon Bakâsur. The Brahman declared that he could not give his son; the wife, that her husband must not be sacrificed, and she would go herself. Bhim Pându then said that he had eaten their salt, and would go himself against the Asur. He fought the demon at Bakri, and having killed him, dragged his dead body to Chakrapur to show to the people; and the day on which the Asur's body was brought to Chakrapur being a Tuesday, *Arâ,* the name of the place, was changed to Arâ from that time.

In whatever way this legend may have arisen, it is not of modern date, as it is found in a much more complete form in the Mahâbhârata. It is therefore at least as old as the Christian era, and at the period of Hwen Thsang's visit in the seventh century it must have been one of the time-honoured legends of antiquity, which the Buddhists, as usual, had

adopted for the glorification of their great teacher. The Mahâbhârata version of the legend is as follows * :—

"When Bhima had returned to his mother and brethren, the sage Vyâsa suddenly appeared to them and advised them to dwell in the city of Ekachakra; so they departed out of the jangal and took up their abode in that city, and dwelt there for a long time in the house of a Brahman. Every day the brothers went out in the disguise of mendicant Brahmans to collect food or alms, and whatever was given to them they brought home at night to their mother Kunti, who thereupon divided the whole into two equal portions, and gave one to the wolf-stomached Bhima, whilst the remaining half sufficed for all the others. One day the Pândavas and their mother heard a great noise of weeping and wailing in the house in which they were dwelling, and Kunti and her sons entered the apartments of the Brahmans and found their host and his wife together with their son and daughter in an agony of grief. On enquiring the cause, they were told that a great Asura raja, named *Vaka*, lived near the city and forced the raja of that city to send him a great quantity of provisions every day, as well as a man to accompany the provisions, and that Vaka every day devoured the man as well as the provisions; and that on that very day the family of the Brahman was required to supply the man. Then the Brahman said that he would go himself and be devoured by the Asura, but he wept very bitterly at the hardness of his destiny. Then the wife and daughter of the Brahman, each in her turn, prayed that she might go in his room, but he would not suffer either, and they all three lifted up their voices and wept very sore. Now the Brahman had an infant son who could scarcely speak, and when the little lad saw that his parents were very sorrowful, he broke off a pointed blade of grass, and said with a prattling voice:—'Weep not, my father, weep not, my mother, for with this spike I will kill the man-eating Asura.' At this sight Kunti bade the family dry their tears, for that one of her sons would go to the Asura, but the Brahman said:—'You are Brahmans, and especially my guests; and if I go myself I am obeying the dictates of the raja, but if I send one of you, I cause the death of a Brahman, and one who is my guest, and I do an act

* Wheeler's Mahâbhârata, p. 110.

which is abhorred by the gods.' Kunti answered—'The Asura will have no power over my son Bhima, and I will send him to destroy the cannibal:' and the Brahman consented. Then Bhima obeyed the commands of his mother with great joy. He set out with the ordained quantity of provisions, consisting of a waggon load of *kichri*, a fine buffalo, and a huge jar of *ghi*, and he went on until he came to the banian tree under which *Vaka* was accustomed to eat his meals; and a crowd of people followed him, for all were desirous of seeing the coming combat; but when they beheld the banian tree they fled away in great terror. Bhima then proceeded to eat up all the victuals that were in the waggon, and to re-fill it with dirt; and he then drank up all the *ghi*, and re-filled the jar with water of the vilest description. When he had finished, *Vaka* came forward ravenous with hunger, with two large bloodshot eyes as big as saucers, and a jaw gaping open like a cave; and *Vaka* uncovered the waggon and found that it contained nothing but dirt; and he raised the jar, and the villainous liquor poured over his face and into his gaping mouth. Then his eye fell upon Bhima, who was sitting on the ground with his back towards him, and in his rage he struck Bhima with all his might with both fists; but Bhima cared not for the blow, and arose up and laughed in his face. Then the Asura was in violent wrath, and he tore up a large tree by the roots, and rushed at Bhima to demolish him; but the mighty Pândava in like manner tore up a huge tree and struck about him lustily; and each one tore up trees by the roots, and broke them to pieces against the other, until not a tree was left, and then they fought with their fists until the Asura was spent. After this Bhima seized Vaka by the legs and rent him asunder: and the Asura expired with a bellowing cry, which seemed as if it would bring the heavens about their ears. All the other Asuras, the subjects of the chieftain, were then in great terror, and came forward with their hands clasped together as suppliants to the conqueror of their raja. So Bhima bound them over by solemn oaths never more to eat the flesh of man, nor to injure them in any way, and he dragged the slain monster by the heels to the gate of the city, and left it there, and entered the city by another way; and he went to the house of his mother and brethren, and told them all that had occurred. And when he had finished, Yudhisthira said that they must imme-

diately leave the city, lest the people should discover who they were, and the news should reach the ears of the Kauravâs that they were still alive, and accordingly they all departed out of Ekachakra, together with their mother Kunti. Meantime the people of the place found the dead body of the Asura, and shouted with joy, but when they learnt that the brethren had left the city they were very sorrowful, as they were eager to show their gratitude to their deliverers."

This legend of the Mahâbhârata is essentially the same as that now told by the people. *Vaka* and *Vakra* are identical in meaning, being derived from the same root *Vaki*, "to be crooked;" hence *Vaka* means "crooked, false, malignant, cruel," and is appropriately used as the name of a man-eating demon. The village of Bakri* still exists 1½ mile to the west of Arâ, and exactly 5 miles to the east of Masâr. There are no ancient remains of any kind either at Bakri or at Arâ, and all my enquiries and researches failed to discover any traces of antiquity. But a brick stupa was so easily convertible into a Brahmanical temple, and afterwards into a Muhammadan masjid, that it would have been a wonder if it had escaped. The Brahmanical legend of *Bakâsur* is however so clearly identical with that of the man-eating "demons of the desert," as described by the Buddhist pilgrim, that I feel but little hesitation in accepting *Arâ* as the site of the stupa and pillar which Asoka set up in commemoration of the overthrow and conversion of the demons by Buddha. I therefore look upon the name of *Arâmnagar*, which is preserved in the modern Jain inscription at Masâr, as having been imposed by the Buddhists when they altered the Brahmanical legend after their usual manner to add to the glory of their teacher. *Arâmnagar* means "City of Repose" or "Monastery City," as *ârâm*, "repose," was the special term used by the Buddhists to designate a monastery.

Hwen Thsang also records that the demons raised a large block of stone as a seat, or throne, for Buddha, from which he preached to them and forced them to submission. There is no trace of this stone at the present day, and it is most probable that the repeated efforts of the infidels to remove it, which up to the pilgrim's time had proved abortive, were ultimately successful.

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* By the omission of the lower limb of the initial letter the name is written Pukree in No. 103 sheet of the Indian Atlas.

The adoption of this identification of Ara as the scene of the conversion of the man-eating demons renders it necessary to make a correction in the bearing of the pilgrim's next march to the Drona stupa. According to the text, Hwen Thsang travelled 100 *li*, or 17 miles, to the *south-east*, for which I propose to read north-east. This bearing would have brought him to the bank of the Ganges opposite Cherând, from which Vaisâli (the modern *Besarh*) lies north-east 25 miles. As both the last bearing and distance agree with the pilgrim's account, I think that there are very strong grounds for making the proposed correction from south-east to north-east. There is however a place called *Bitha*, or "the mound" just 16 miles to the east, which may very probably turn out to be the ruins of the Drona Stupa.*

With reference to the pilgrim's route from Banâras to Vaisâli, it will be useful to compare it with Fa Hian's route from Patna to Banâras. A glance at any map will show that Vaisâli and Patna are equi-distant, taken from Banâras, and the two distances, taken from the Quarter Master General's route book, are respectively 158 and 152 miles. Now it is remarkable that Fa Hian gives the distance between Patna and Banâras as 22 *yojanas*, while the sum of all Hwen Thsang's distances between Banâras and Vaisâli amounts to 880 *li*, which gives a rate of exactly 40 *li* to the *yojana*. This is the very rate mentioned by Hwen Thsang himself,† and adds another proof to those which I have already given, ‡ that this was the real comparative value of these two measures of distance. But it does even more than this, as it proves that the *yojana* used by Fa Hian in his tour through Magadha was as nearly as possible equal to seven English miles, which is the value that I adopted no less than 30 years ago, and which subsequent researches, as in the present instance, have always tended to establish more firmly. The precise value of Fa Hian's *yojana* between Patna and Banâras is six miles and ten-elevenths, which, for all practical purposes, may be taken as seven miles.

The legend of the man-eating demon *Vaka*, which I have given from the *Mahábhárata*, makes no attempt to account for the change in the name of the place from Ekachakra to Arâ.§ I infer, therefore, that the change was either later

* This mound has since been examined, according to my instructions, by my assistant, Mr. Beglar, who found it to be an actual stupa, surmounted by a Mahammadan tomb.

† Julien's Hwen Thsang. II, 60.

‡ Ancient Geography of India, p. 571.

§ Ekachakra is named in the Mahawanso as one of the ancient capital cities of India in the time of Buddha.

than the date of the composition of the *Mahábhárata,* or that the new name was probably of Buddhist origin, and was consequently not recognized by the Brahmans. But with the lapse of time, the true origin of the name was forgotten, and the Brahmans of later times have accordingly exhausted their invention to account for the new name.

One version which I have already given ingeniously accounts for the origin of the new name by simply adding to the old legend that the body of the demon was brought into the town of Ekachakra on a Tuesday, *Ara,* which thenceforth become the name of the town.

But others, not content with this derivation, have devised the following.

A pious raja, who was famous for his charity in not refusing gifts to Brahmans, was accosted by Vishnu in the form of a Brahman, with a request that he would bestow on him the gift of one-half of his body. The raja at once consented, and ordered his hands and feet to be tied, and a saw *(Ara)* to be brought to cut his body into two. Just as the operation was about to be begun, the raja observed that one-half of his body was very unfairly treated, for the half taken by the Brahman would be cleansed from sin, while the other half would be loaded with the sins of the whole body. Vishnu then manifested himself, and told the raja that his request was only made as a trial of his charity.

Another version of the same legend comes to the same conclusion, but in a different way. The operation of sawing the body in two had actually commenced when tears trickled from the raja's eyes. The disguised Brahman then observed that he would not accept the gift, as the tears showed an unwillingness in the giver, which was a sin. This the raja denied, and affirmed that the tears were shed by the rejected half of his body, which was bewailing its unhappy fate at being considered unworthy of acceptance. Vishnu laughed and manifested himself, and praised the raja for his devotion.

The Muhammadans of *Ará* are contented with a much simpler derivation, as they believe that the town was called *Ará* on account of the number of "sawyers," *Ará-kash,* who dwell in it.

Wilson gives *Hari-griha,* or "Vishnu's abode," as another name for *Ekachakra,* which he identifies with a place called *Sambhapur,* of which I have been unable to obtain any information.

In another version of the legend in the *Mahâbhârata*, the man-eating demon is called *Hidimba* instead of Vaka, and he is accompanied by his sister Hidimbâ, who falls in love with Bhīm Pându, and is afterwards married to him. This form of the legend is exactly the same as that of Rasâlu, son of Salivâhan, and the Princess Kokila, daughter of Sirkap, which is so widely diffused over the Panjâb. Mr. Wheeler thinks that the Hidimba legend is a later version, "which should probably be referred to the Buddhist period."* I think so too, but for a different reason, namely, its exact identity with the Panjâb legend of Rasâlu and Sirkap, which I have elsewhere shown to be part of the famous Buddhist legend of Buddha and the seven tiger cubs.†

BUDDHA-GAYA.

In my first report of 1861-62 I gave a brief notice of Buddha-Gaya, and of its great temple and other remains. I have now re-visited the place, and am able to add much interesting information to my previous scanty account.

Buddha Gaya is situated on the left or western bank of the Phalgu river, just 5 miles to the south of the city of Gaya, and 65 miles to the south of Patna. Here stands the famous *Bodhi-drûm*, or "tree of wisdom," under which Sâkya Sinha sat for six years in meditation until he attained the supreme state of a *Buddha*, by which name he was afterwards known. Close to the east side of the holy tree stands the great temple, which is 48 feet square on the terrace level of the tree, with a height of 160 feet above the granite pavement of the lower apartment. These are the chief objects of attraction at Buddha Gaya, but there are several other objects of interest, more especially the numerous statues which are scattered over the place, besides the two small temples of *Târâ Devi* and *Vageswari Devi.*

The great temple and Bodhi tree stand in the midst of an extensive mass of ruins, about 1,500 feet square. About two-thirds of the ruins lie to the north of the temple, which occupies a position about midway, east and west. The mass is very uneven in height, some of the hollows representing ancient courtyards, whilst others are simply the holes from which bricks have been excavated.

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* Wheeler's Mahâbhârata, p. 110.
† Archæological Survey of India, Vol. II, p. 155.

According to the *Mahawanso*, the Bodhi tree was situated in *Uruvilwa*. "At the foot of the *Bo* tree, in *Uruwelaya*, in the kingdom of Magadha, * * * the divine sage achieved the supreme all-perfect Buddhahood."* Spence Hardy calls it the forest of Uruwela.† But from other authorities we learn that *Uruvilwa* was the name of one of the three Kâsyapa brothers who resided at Buddha Gaya, and who were there converted by Buddha.‡

I first saw the Bodhi-drûm in December 1861, and again in December 1871. During these ten years one of the principal branches has disappeared, and the rotten stem of the tree must soon follow. The upper part of the platform has been repaired, as the tree is now worshipped by Brahmanical pilgrims. The terrace from which it springs is on the same level as the upper floor of the temple, which is 25½ feet above the pavement of the lower floor, but only 18 feet above the level of the accumulated mass of ruins to the westward. The tree was in full vigour in 1811, when it was seen by Buchanan, who estimated its age as about 100 years.

The platform or terrace which supported the holy pippal tree was called *Bodhimanda*, or "the ornament of the Bodhi tree," and on it was raised the famous *Vajrâsan* or diamond throne, in commemoration of the spot on which Sâkya Sinha had obtained Buddhahood after sitting in meditation for six years. The *Vajrâsan* was still in existence at the time of Hwen Thsang's visit in A. D. 637. He describes it as being about 100 paces in circumference.§ But there must be some mistake in the number, as the platform is only 29 feet broad; and the circular pyramid of steps which now surrounds the tree is not more than 50 feet in circumference, and could never have been more than 80 feet.

Hwen Thsang relates how the Bodhi tree was first destroyed by Asoka, before his conversion to Buddhism, and afterwards by his queen, but was miraculously renewed on each occasion. Asoka then surrounded it with a stone wall 12 feet high, which was seen by Hwen Thsang. Some centuries later, King *Sasângka*, who was an active enemy of Buddhism, destroyed the holy tree and dug up its roots;||

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* Turnour's Mahawanso. † Eastern Monachism, pp. 3, 213.
‡ Julien's Hwen Thsang, II, 483. § Julien's Hwen Thsang, II, 460.
|| Julien's Hwen Thsang, II, 463.

but it re-appeared some months afterwards at the earnest prayer of Purna Varmma, the last descendant of Asoka. As this Sasângka was the king who caused the death of Râjya Varddhana of Kanauj, the elder brother of Harsha Varddhana, he must have been living in A. D. 600, or within about 30 years of Hwen Thsang's first visit to Magadha. We cannot therefore hesitate to accept the story of the complete destruction of the Bodhi-drûm about A. D. 600 by *Sasângka*, who was probably the King of Bengal, and its subsequent renewal by Purna Varmmâ, King of Magadha. If it was renewed about A. D. 610, it would naturally have attained the height of 40 or 50 feet, which Hwen Thsang assigns to it at the time of his visit in A. D. 637.

Immediately to the east of the Bodhi tree rises the great temple to a height of 160 feet, from the granite pavement of the lower floor to the broken pinnacle at the top. This is, I think, beyond all doubt the same *Vihâr* that was seen and described by Hwen Thsang, as the two agree in several minute particulars, as well as in the essential point of size. According to the pilgrim, the base of the temple was 20 paces, or about 50 feet square, which agrees with my measurements, one face being 47 feet 3 inches, and of the other 48 feet 8 inches. Its height was from 160 to 170 feet, which corresponds with my measured height of 160 feet.* It was built of bluish bricks covered with a coating of plaster; it was ornamented with niches in stages, each niche holding a golden statue of Buddha, and was crowned with an *amalaka* fruit in copper gilt. Omitting the metal pinnacle, which has long ago disappeared, this description tallies exactly with the appearance of the present temple. It is built entirely of dark-red brick of a bluish tinge, and has been more than once plastered all over. The exterior is still adorned with eight tiers or rows of niches, one above the other, many of which still hold figures of Buddha. The gilding has of course disappeared, but these plaster images were no doubt originally gilded, as it is the custom of the Burmese to gild their plaster statues even at the present day.

Hwen Thsang continues—"On the east side there was *afterwards* added a pavilion of two storeys, with projecting roofs which rose in three tiers."† This statement regarding the

* Julien's Hwen Thsang, III, 464. † Julien's Hwen Thsang, II, 465.

subsequent construction of the rooms on the eastern side is confirmed by the difference in the size of the bricks used in the temple itself, and in the additions to the eastern face. In the walls of the temple six courses of bricks average from 17½ to 18 inches in height, while six courses of the eastern rooms average only from 15 to 15½ inches. There is a consequent dislocation between the old and new walls; but this is not at first sight apparent, as the old walls have been faced with new bricks to a depth of more than one foot, which do not break joint with bricks of the old walls. In the accompanying plan* the whole of the work that is built with large bricks is limited to the main building and its surrounding terrace, the boundary of which is defined by the letters T. T. T. All beyond T. T. on the east face, as well as the remains of the upper storey over the middle of the eastern terrace, is built with the smaller bricks, and must therefore be part of the subsequent additions mentioned by Hwen Thsang. In the upper storey no attempt has been made to bond the old and the new work together; and the hand can be inserted in many places between the plastered face of the old walls and the bricks of the later walls. Indeed the old niches, as well as mouldings of the eastern face, can be seen behind these later walls.

The main body of the temple consists of a lower room with a pointed arched roof 22 feet 1 inch in height, with a thickness of 3½ feet to the floor of the upper room, which has a similar roof 21 feet 6 inches in height. The only access to the inner room, marked D in the plan, was through the three passages marked A, B, and C, all of which were once roofed. The outer hall, marked A, is certainly of later date than the great temple itself, as it is built entirely of the smaller sized bricks. The central hall B I take to have been the original porch, as I found that the smaller sized bricks were confined to a facing about 15 inches deep, which did not break bond with the thicker bricks of the old wall. It is probable that this facing was added to carry the vaulted arch, although it looks very like a mere repair of the old wall, which had been worn away by the weather. But even in this case the thickness of the facing may have been increased for the purpose of lessening the space of the vault. The stone jambs of the doorway of this porch are of differ-

* Plate XXV.

ent kinds, which shows that the doorway must have been re-constructed. I believe, however, that this was the original entrance to the porch of the temple. This porch, which is 15 feet by 14½ feet, was once vaulted over, but the vault has long since fallen in.

The passage marked C is roofed with a pointed vault, and so also is the inner room, or cell of the temple, marked D; the radius of each arc being equal to the chord, which is the simplest form of pointed arch. The roof is plastered and divided into a great number of small panels, each containing a small figure of Buddha. This inner room is 20 feet 4 inches long by 13 feet broad. At the western end there is a large pedestal of black basalt, 4 feet high and 5 feet 9 inches broad, which extends right across the room, thus reducing the actual size of the room to 14 feet 7 inches by 13 feet. The floor is paved with slabs of granite, in the middle of which rises a lingam of *Mahâdeva.* Most of the slabs are carved with figures of pilgrims on their knees, holding flags and other offerings towards the image which once sat on the great pedestal.

There is a curious story told by Hwen Thsang, to which the long shape of this cell of the great temple seems to lend an air of truthfulness.* "About the beginning of the seventh century the King *Sasângka,* after destroying the Bodhi tree, directed one of his ministers to remove the statue of Buddha, and to put a figure of Mahâdeva in its place. The minister, who was a Buddhist, was puzzled what to do. 'If,' said he, 'I destroy the statue of Buddha, I shall entail misery upon myself for countless ages; and if I disobey the king's order, I shall be killed with my whole family.'" He employed a trusty servant, who built a brick wall before the statue of Buddha, and in front of the wall set up an image of the god Maheswara. When the king heard that his orders had been carried out, he was instantly seized with fright, his whole body broke into tremor, his skin peeled off, and he died on the spot. The minister then ordered the wall to be removed at once. Now a glance at the plan of the temple will show that by building a brick wall in front of the pedestal the room would have become nearly square, while the back wall towards the west would have been increased

* Julien's Hwen Thsang, II, 468.

to little more than the thickness of the two side walls on the north and south.

The thinness of the back wall, compared with the extreme thickness of the two side walls, has always been a puzzle to me. If this was the original construction, I should expect to find some passages in the side walls which once led to the upper rooms. There is a difference of 4 feet in the thickness of the back and side walls, which would be more than was necessary for a staircase. In the great temple at Nâlanda, which, as the Chinese pilgrim informs us, resembled that near the Bodhi tree, the inner room is 21 feet square, and all the walls are of the same thickness of 21 feet. I am therefore inclined to think that the original cell of the Buddha Gaya temple was nearly square, and that all the walls were of the same thickness; and I would account for the present difference of 20 feet in length by 13 feet in breadth by supposing that, when the vaulted roof was added to the chamber, a new wall, 3½ feet thick, was built against the north and south sides to carry the vault.

Should this supposition prove to be correct, then the results as well as the arches must have been additions to the original structure. This is, I confess, the very conclusion that I have arrived at on other grounds, for the great overlapping opening, or true Indian arch, which forms the main feature of the eastern face of the building, would have been quite purposeless if it had not been intended to throw the sun's light into the sanctum of the temple over the roof of the porch, and thus to illuminate every morning the figure which was the great object of worship. The same arrangement was adopted in the great Chaitya caves of Central and Western India, and it is difficult to see what other purpose this tall rent in the face of the building could possibly have served. If the vaulted roofs of the two lower rooms had formed part of the original structure, then the builder of the temple had a knowledge of a weak form of radiating arch, such as is used in well cylinders, where the bricks are brought in contact *edge to edge*. In this construction the strain is thrown on the narrow edges of the bricks instead of on their broad faces, and it is therefore weak. But it is still so greatly superior in strength to the overlapping Indian arch that it is difficult to conceive how any builder who had a knowledge of even this weaker kind of radiating arch should have deliberately discarded it in the greatest

opening of a brick building, where its use would have been eminently judicious. The overlapping arch is especially weak in brick-work, as each lap is necessarily very short, which adds greatly to the height of the opening. But the builders of these tall openings could not have known that this was a source of weakness, for they deliberately added to their height by springing them from lofty rectangular openings. In the Buddha Gaya temple this lower portion of the opening is now closed by three of these end-to-end radiating arches, but the perpendicular sides are still traceable. In the Konch temple, however, this tall opening still remains as it was left by the original builder.

In support of my view, that the vaulted chambers most probably did not form a part of the original structure, I may quote the opinion of my friend, the late Mr. C. Horne, who examined the temple with much care. In his opinion, "the whole of the arch arrangements are a subsequent insertion, and formed no part of the original building."*

On the other hand I may note that the roof of the rock-hewn cave of Sonbhândâr at Râjagriha, which is beyond all doubt the Satapanni cave of the first Buddhist synod, is a low pointed vault,† which shows that the form, at least of these Buddha Gaya arches, was not unknown to Indian workmen even so early as B. C. 500.

It is quite possible, therefore, that the vaulted roofs of the Buddha Gaya temple may have formed part of the original structure, although, for the reasons which I have just given, it seems to me not very probable that this should have been the case.

We now come to the ruined walls and staircases, which form so conspicuous a feature in the front or east view of the temple. These remains answer so well to the description of the two-storeyed porticoes seen by Hwen Thsang in A. D. 637, that I think they must be the ruins of the very building which he describes. His words are—"Du côté de l'est, on a construit, a la suite, un pavillon a deux ctages, dont les toits saillants s' c'levent sur trois ranges."‡ In

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* Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, 1865, p. 285.

I may note here that Bâbu Râjendra Lâl makes a mistake when he supposes that the arches of the Buddha Gaya temple escaped my notice. I made a large drawing of them in December 1861, which is now before me, and I consulted Colonel Yule in the same month as to whether they were of Burmese origin.

† Plate XLII.

‡ Julien's Hwen Thsang, II, 465.

the accompanying plan the remains of the walls of the upper storey are marked G G, and those of the lower storey E E and F F.* The "three tiers of roofs" which the pilgrim mentions I take to have been, 1*st*, a roof over the entrance portico A of the lower storey; 2*nd*, a roof over the entrance room B of the second storey; and 3*rd*, a roof over the portico of the third storey just above the top of the overlapping arch. These three roofs with their pointed pinnacles would answer exactly to the description of Hwen Thsang; and, as the actual remains of the exterior rooms correspond so well with the double-storeyed pavilion of the pilgrim, I think it very probable that they are the remains of the identical building which he saw and described.

The other portions of the eastern building, marked N N in the plan, are of comparatively modern date, as well as the *external* staircases marked S S, which were added by the Mahant of the Brahmanical establishment on the bank of the Phalgu to give Brahmanical pilgrims access to the pippal tree without being obliged to go inside the forbidden temple of the Buddhist. The *extra* wall at W has been built during the present century to support the decaying wall of the terrace on the north side. The two landing places marked L L were formerly accessible only by the two flights of steps leading from the half of the temple marked B. These are covered with semi-circular arched roofs up to the landing places at L, from whence two shorter flights lead to the level of the terrace. As these steps formed the only means of access to the upper storey, there must have been openings in the side walls at F F. Following Hwen Thsang's description, each chamber had three doors. These I take to have been two in the side walls to the north and south, and one in the west wall leading into the main building.

This great temple was once surrounded with a Buddhist railing about 9 feet in height, the whole of which is now buried beneath the accumulated ruins of centuries. This railing was discovered by excavations which were made by Government on my recommendation. The work was

* See also a woodcut of the temple in Mr. Fergusson's History of Architecture, Vol. II, p. 474, in which the walls of the upper storey are very prominent.

carried out under the superintendence of Major Mead, from whose report I make the following extracts :*—

"On the north and west fronts I found that the external walls of the platform were modern, and apparently not founded on the original solid ground, but in the mud soil which has accumulated.

"In front of the temple I found that the courtyard was paved with a granite floor 34 feet in width, and the whole length of the (eastern) front of the temple, which terminates under a cut-stone moulded plinth, which no doubt carried some sort of ornamental fence dividing off this inner court from the exterior. (See basalt plinth in the accompanying plan. The 34 feet must be measured from the doorway of the entrance hall B, as the width of pavement from the actual outer walls of N N is only 17 feet from the basalt plinth. The granite pavement also extends beyond this plinth as far as the brick archway attributed to Amara Sinha Sauvira.)

"The eastern external trench running in front of this archway from S to N yielded a considerable quantity of masonry *in situ*, and large numbers of handsomely carved model stupas, of which some *hundreds* of specimens have been disinterred by our excavations.† I consequently enlarged the trench here to above 20 feet in width, and endeavoured to trace these walls, which turned out to be the lower portions of four small single cell temples or shrines, the upper portions of which are gone. In one of the most complete, the stone door-frame of which still stands, we found in place, and on its original pedestal, a statue of Buddha in the usual seated position (perfect, except the head, which is broken off and missing), of rather more than life-size. On the pedestal of this figure and on the base of the statue are two lines of inscription in good order. * * Here we found a bronze bell, of nearly hemispherical shape, about 10 inches in diameter, and part of some bronze ornament representing, I fancy, the head of a peacock.

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* Letter No. 2077, to my address, dated 3rd November 1863.

† Not a single specimen of these *hundreds* is now to be seen. I suppose they have been carried off to Gaya, and are now doing duty as lingams, or symbols of Mahádeva. No conversion is required, as the people accept one of these votive *stupas* of the Buddhists as a ready-made lingam. When I was digging round the Buddhapad the workmen lighted on the top of one of these stupas. Several times they tried to move it, but in vain. "Máhadeo won't move," said one, at which there was a general laugh. "How strong Mahâdeo is," said another, which was followed by another laugh.

"Of the four internal trenches, that along the southern face of the temple has been excavated. It has exposed the southern basement of the temple, which is singularly perfect and handsome, although entirely in plaster. * * Here we obtained the corroded remains of two or three small bronze trumpets * * and about 28 feet from the south-west corner of the temple this trench disclosed a broken pillar and rail of what in your instructions you term the Buddhist railing.*

"On seeing this I decided * * to take the internal western trench along the line of this railing, and doing so, I found the railing still all along in place, except that every post had been broken off just above the insertion of the lowest rail, save only the two at an opening in the middle opposite the holy pippal tree. The two pillars standing are nearly perfect, with carving on two adjacent sides in view of the usual mortice holes."

Major Mead then adds that he had found traces of the same railing both on the north and south sides of the temple. His report was accompanied by a plan, which shows the position of this railing and of the basalt plinth in front. There is also an elevation of the railing, which shows both pillars and rails, but no coping, from which I conclude that no specimen of the coping was discovered.

While these excavations were being carried on, Buddha Gaya was visited by Bâbu Râjendra Lâl Mittrâ, who gives the text and translation of the inscription found by Major Mead on the pedestal of the figure of Buddha in the small temple which he excavated. According to the learned Bâbu, the inscription, which was in Gupta characters,† recorded the dedication of the figure by one Boddikshana, of the village of Dattagalla, the writer being Upayayapurva of Masavâgra.

The Buddhist railing thus discovered by Major Mead I partially re-excavated in December 1871, for the purpose of ascertaining whether its pillars were similar to those which I have already made known as existing in the porch of the Panch-Pandu temple, and in the veranda of the inner court of the Mahant's residence.‡ On a few of those pillars there was inscribed a short record in Asoka characters *Ayaye Kuragiye dânam*, "gift to the holy Kuragi," which I under-

* This was at the point marked X on the plan.

† Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, 1864, p. 177. This figure of Buddha has disappeared.

‡ See Archæological Survey Report of India, Vol. I, Plates VIII, IX, X and XI.

stand to refer to the sacred spot where Buddha was presented with "rice-milk," as *kura* means boiled rice. I opened trenches in several places, of which the most successful were those in the middle of the west side, and along the line of railing at the south-east corner. On one of the unbroken pillars, standing *in situ* with its lowest rails still fixed, I found another copy of the inscription noted above, also in Asoka characters, which is sufficient to show that all the railing pillars which I have described in a previous volume, must have belonged to this very railing.

I found the two pillars forming the opening in the middle of the western side still standing as Major Mead had left them. I found also three votive stupas *in situ* on a brick floor, below which there was a depth of 2 feet 8 inches of sand lying on the original brick floor on the same level as the bases of the pillars of the old stone railing. This brick floor I found to be on the same level as the granite floor of the lower room of the temple. I shall refer to these curious discoveries again, when I come to speak of the age of the temple.

At the south-east corner I found that there was one pillar beyond the line of junction of the basalt plinth which runs from south to north. This one pillar, however, was a corner one, as it has socket holes for rails on *three* sides. The fourth side, to the east, is occupied with a sculpture in high relief of two females, one holding to a tree with left arm and left leg, and the other seated on the ground, and apparently supporting the right foot of the first. Both figures are clad from the waist to the knees in finely creased drapery, over which is seen the well known bead girdle. The second pillar, towards the west, has an Asoka inscription right across it, but it is so much injured that I could not read more than the opening letters "*patihata*."* On the lowest rail, however, I found the following well preserved inscription in deeply-cut Asoka characters:—

Bodhi-Rakhitasa Tabapanakasa dánam.

"gift of Bodhi-Rakhita of Tabapanaka (or Ceylon)." Several specimens of these rails are given in the accompanying plate.† On the sandstone rails, as indeed might be expected, the workmanship is smoother, and the details of the lotus flowers more minute, than on the granite rails. The length of the

* Plate XXVI, No. 2 inscription.
† Plate XXVI. Two of these I have deposited in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

sandstone rails, 2 feet 10 inches, is also greater than that of the granite rails, which are only 2 feet 7 inches long. As granite is a stronger material than sandstone, the granite rails ought to have been longer than the others; but perhaps the difference was simply due to the different donors; one gave his order to some local masons for granite pillars, another gave his order to the masons of a distant sandstone quarry, where the lengths of the measures may have been slightly different, although the names were the same.

The pillars vary from $11\frac{3}{4}$ to 14 inches in breadth, and, as the rails also vary in length, there is a considerable variation in the intervals, as, for instance, 2 feet 5 inches, 2 feet $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches, 2 feet $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches, 2 feet 10 inches, 2 feet $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches, 3 feet 2 inches. Taking the distance of the two western pillars from the wall of the terrace as the correct line of the western railing, and that of the south-east pillars as the correct line of the southern railing, I calculate that there were 37 pillars on each of the north and south faces, with an outside length of 145 feet, and 12 pillars in each half of the western side between the corner pillar and the middle opening. This will give an outside breadth of 108 feet with a total of 94 pillars, of which I have myself seen 43. But if, as we may reasonably suppose, there was a similar railing and opening on the eastern side, the number of pillars would be increased to 118, and the whole circuit of the railing outside would have been 506 feet.

On the east side, however, there is no trace of this railing at the present time. But there is a long massive plinth of basalt that stretches right across from the south to the north railing, which must have been added many centuries afterwards, as the granite floor on which it stands is just 2 feet above the level of the granite floor of the temple, and of the brick floor of the plinth of the surrounding railing. It is certainly therefore a much later work, but of what period it is difficult to say. As far as my experience goes, it must be as late as 800 or 900 A. D., as I have not seen any work in either blue or black basalt that could be referred to an earlier date.

There is much difference of opinion as to the age of this famous temple. Mr. Horne and Bâbu Râjendra Lâl both refer it to the time of Asoka, or about 200 B. C.,* while

* Journal of Bengal Asiatic Society, 1865, pp. 281—286.

Mr. Fergusson brings it down to the 14th century A. D.* The first opinion is easily disposed of, as it is founded on a misquotation of Hwen Thsang. Bâbu Râjendra speaks of the "Buddhist belief, reported by Hwen Thsang and the Ceylonese Chronicles, of Asoka having raised a *lofty* temple at Buddha Gaya," † which is just exactly the reverse of what the pilgrim does say. Speaking of the great Vihâra as it stood in A. D. 637, he says—"Sur l'ancien emplacement du Vihâra, le roi Asoka avait d'abord élevé un *petit* Vihâra." ‡ From this statement it is certain that the *great* temple from 160 to 170 feet in height could not possibly have been the same as the *little* temple that was built by Asoka. Indeed, the pilgrim himself distinctly says that the temple was *rebuilt* on a *grand* scale by a Brahman, by the direction of Mahâdeva, while the Brahman's younger brother dug a tank. I have already pointed out how closely the description of this temple given by Hwen Thsang agrees with the actual temple of the present day; and on this remarkable agreement of dimensions, both in height and breadth, of materials both blue brick and stucco, and of ornamentation in successive tiers, I come to the conclusion that we now see before us the very temple which Hwen Thsang visited and described in A. D. 637.

To all those who have seen the temple, this opinion has appeared equally certain and conclusive. Mr. Fergusson alone doubts it, as he describes the temple in the following terms § :—

"A temple was erected, according to an inscription found on the spot, about the year 500, by a certain Amara-Deva, and was seen and described by Hwen Thsang in the 7th century, but having become ruinous was rebuilt by the Burmese in or about the year 1306, as shown in woodcut No. 982. From its architecture, there can be little doubt that its external form, and the details of the stucco ornaments with which it is now covered, belong to the latter epoch, and so do all the parts which are arched, and all the true arches. The frame-works of the building, however, and those parts constructed with horizontal arches, seem to belong to the earlier erection."

* History of Architecture, II, p. 474.
† Journal of Bengal Asiatic Society, 1864, p. 186.
‡ Julien's Hwen Thsang, II, 465.
§ History of Architecture, II, 474.

In this statement I must take exception to the word *rebuilt*, for which I would read *repaired*. I grant that the loose phraseology of our English translations of the Burmese inscription,* which would seem to have adopted different words for the sake of variety, gives some countenance to Mr. Fergusson's *rebuilding*. But I contend that if the temple had been so often rebuilt, as the translators of the Burmese inscription incline to make out, the temple itself would not have retained that remarkable accordance with Hwen Thsang's description, which it does to this day by the general consent of all observers. I contend also that if the temple had been frequently rebuilt it would have shown this very clearly by the different sizes and various colours of its bricks, as it cannot be supposed that each new builder would have used only new bricks, of one uniform size and colour, instead of using up all the old bricks that were still good, and merely adding to them as many new bricks as were required. But instead of the patchwork of different sized bricks which we might naturally expect to find in a temple which had thus been rebuilt of old and new materials, the mass of the great temple is homogeneous, being built of large bricks of uniform size, and of a peculiar bluish tinge, as noticed by Hwen Thsang.

When all the inscriptions which I have collected have been translated, it is probable that we may obtain some earlier and more authentic information regarding the Buddha Gaya temple than we now possess. Until then, I am content to rest my opinion on the evidence supplied by the building itself, which seems to me to be singularly clear and trustworthy.

The most striking evidence of the antiquity of the temple is its exact correspondence in all particulars with the description given of it in A. D. 637 by the Chinese pilgrim Hwen Thsang. If it was *rebuilt*, as Mr. Fergusson supposes, by the Burmese in A. D. 1305, the new temple must have been a very close copy of its predecessor, not only in its dimensions, but in the colour of its bricks, and in the style of its external ornamentation. I hold therefore that any theory as to the age of the temple which is founded upon its external form and ornamentation should first

* The translation of this Burmese inscription will be given hereafter; a facsimile of the text will be found in Plate XXXI.

explain how a comparatively modern temple of Burmese construction agrees so minutely in all important particulars with the description given of it by Hwen Thsang in A. D. 637. If the Burmese merely *copied* the design of the previous temple, then the style belongs to the period of the previous building. The true explanation seems to me to lie in the erroneous use of the term *rebuilt* by the translators of the Burmese inscription, instead of *repaired*. That the Burmese *rebuilt* the temple in A. D. 1305 is, I am confident, a gross mistake, owing partly perhaps to the ignorance as well as want of precision in the original writer of the Burmese inscription, and partly to the looseness of the English translations given by Ratna Pâla and Colonel Burney. According to Ratna Pâla,* the original temple erected by Asoka "having fallen into *disrepair* was *rebuilt*;" "again being *ruined*, it was *restored*," and after a long interval, "being once more *demolished*, the Burmese minister was employed to *repair* the sacred building." It was thus, says the translator, "*constructed* a fourth time." Here the confusion between *disrepair*, *ruin* and *demolition* is fairly balanced by the confusion between *rebuilding*, *restoration* and *repair*. In Colonel Burney's translation I find exactly the same tantalizing want of precision. According to him, the original temple of Asoka having been *destroyed* for a long time was *repaired*.† I need quote no further, but will simply state my opinion that the temple was not *rebuilt* by the Burmese at any time, but simply *repaired*.

Amongst all this confusion it is pleasant to turn to the simple narrative of the Chinese pilgrim, from whom we learn that the original temple of Asoka being a small one, it was rebuilt on a grand scale by a Brahman. No clue is given as to the date of the new temple, but I am inclined to think that it may be assigned with some probability to the first century B. C. In his account of the great temple of Bâlâditya at Nâlanda, which was 200 feet high, Hwen Thsang expressly states that in size and magnificence it resembled the great temple near the Bodhi-drûm.‡ Now this temple

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* Journal, Bengal Asiatic Society, 1834, p. 214.

† Asiatic Researches of Bengal, Vol. XX, p. 104.

‡ Julien's Hwen Thsang, III, 50. The height of the Nâlanda temple is given in one place, Vol. I, p. 160, at 200 feet; and in another, Vol. III, p. 50, at 300 feet. The former no doubt was the true height of the temple.

of Bâlâditya, which was identified by me in 1861, was partially excavated at my recommendation in 1863, and afterwards more completely by Mr. A. M. Broadley in 1871. I visited Nâlanda in January 1872, and made a careful examination of this great ruined temple, the walls of which are still standing to a height of more than 50 feet. Large masses also of the fallen walls are still intact. From all these remains, I am able to vouch for the accuracy of Hwen Thsang's statement that the Nâlanda temple, with respect to size and magnificence, was comparable to the great temple near the Bodhi-drûm.

Both temples are square in plan, both rise from a raised terrace or platform, both are built of brick faced with stucco, and both are ornamented with rows of panels containing figures of Buddha. But the agreement with Hwen Thsang's description goes still further. The height of the Nâlanda temple, he says, was 200 feet. Now we know both the breadth and height of the Buddha Gaya temple, and as the Nâlanda temple resembled it, we may conclude with some confidence that it was built in the same relative proportions of height to base. The base of the Nâlanda temple is 63 feet square, and that of the Bodhi-drûm temple is just 50 feet, its height being 160 to 170 feet. According to this proportion, the height of the temple of Bâlâditya at Nâlanda would have been a little over 200 feet, which agrees exactly with the measurement given by Hwen Thsang.

Now the Nâlanda temple was certainly not either repaired or rebuilt by the Burmese. On the contrary, we know that the last alterations and additions to it were made to the entrance doorway by Raja Mahipâla, as recorded in an inscription discovered by Captain Marshall, when making the excavation previously alluded to. As Mahipâla lived in the beginning of the 11th century,* we gain no less than three centuries for the antiquity of this style of temple over the date adopted for it by Mr. Fergusson.

I return again to the account of the temple given by Hwen Thsang. According to him, the Brahman builder of the temple had a younger brother who excavated a tank. Neither its name nor its position is given, but it was probably the nameless tank which now exists to the west of the

* The Sârnâth inscription of this prince is dated in Samvat 1083, or A. D. 1026.

temple. It is especially unfortunate that the name of the Brahman is not mentioned by Hwen Thsang; but as the date of Bâlâditya is fixed by him to the first century B. C., so we may place the building of the Bodhi-drûm temple about the same time, or perhaps a little earlier than Bâlâditya, as the larger temple was probably the later one. I have a suspicion that the Brahman and his brother may perhaps be the same as the two brothers, Sankara and Mudgaragâmini, who founded the first monastery at Nâlanda.* When they are first mentioned, they are called simply "the two Upâsika brothers who laid the foundations of the famous monastery of Nâlanda;" but afterwards the elder brother is called "King Sankara," and Nâgârjuna is said to have studied in the Nâlanda monastery of Sankara shortly after its foundation.† This King Sankara must therefore be identified with Hwen Thsang's *Sho-kia-lo-o-tie-to*, or *Sankaraditya*,‡ whom he also makes the first founder of the Nâlanda monastery. This is a mere suggestion, but it seems not improbable that the two enthusiastic brothers who built the Nâlanda monastery on the site of Sâriputra's birth, might be the same two brothers who had previously built the great temple near the Bodhi-drûm. But quite independent of the question of their identity, I look upon the fact mentioned by Hwen Thsang, of the similarity of the two great temples of Nâlanda and Buddha Gaya, as a fair evidence that the two buildings belonged to the same period; and I accept the pilgrim's statement that the Nâlanda monastery was built seven hundred years before his time as a plain fact, which he must have obtained from the annals of the monastery itself. Bâlâditya must therefore be placed towards the end of the first century before Christ, or early in the first century after Christ.§

The next point in Hwen Thsang's description is the fact that some time afterwards a "pavilion of two storeys, with pointed roofs in three tiers, was added to the eastern

* Vassilief, Le Buddhism, Ses dogmes, &c., traduit du Russe par M. La Comme. p. 49, The historical portions are taken from Târânâth's Tibetan History of Buddhism.

† Vassilief, pp. 49 and 200.

‡ Julien's Hwen Thsang, III, 42, transcribes the Chinese syllables as *Sokrâditya*, but the Tibetans are much more likely to have preserved the true name.

§ Julien's *Hwen Thsang*, I, 152. If the pilgrim's 700 years before A. D. 637 should refer to the first foundation of the monastery by Sankara, then Bâlâditya, who was the third in descent from him, cannot be placed earlier than the first half of the first century A. D., or from 20 to 50 A. D.

side" of the temple.* This pavilion I take to be the additions to the eastern front which we now see in ruins. I know of no clue to fix even the probable date of this addition; but if there be any truth in the statement of the Amara Deva inscription, the erection of the double-storeyed pavilion in front of the entrance may be assigned to Amara Deva, who, as he is called one of the nine gems of the court of Vikramaditya, must have been the contemporary of Varâha Mihira, and cannot therefore be placed before 500 A. D.

From this time down to A. D. 1306, when the temple was repaired by the Burmese, we have no records whatever; but I confidently anticipate that some facts connected with the temple will be obtained from the Buddhist inscriptions which I obtained both at Buddha Gaya and at Brahmâ Gaya.†

I will now turn to the temple itself, and to the ruins around it, and see what evidence they will afford in favour of the various dates which I have suggested above for the erection and repair of the holy building.

1*st.*—The original *Vihâr* in front of the *Bodhi-drûm* was a *small* one erected by Asoka shortly after his conversion to Buddhism, or about B. C. 250. In the Asoka Avadâna the monument is called a *Chaitya*;‡ but as it no longer exists, the form of the building is of little consequence. To Asoka also is attributed the erection of a stone wall, 12 feet in height, around the famous Bodhi tree, which was still standing in Hwen Thsang's time. The circuit of the wall is not given, but there can be little doubt that the Buddhist railing, which has been already noticed as bearing inscriptions of Asoka's age, must be the stone wall referred to by the Chinese pilgrim.§ The great antiquity of this railing might be proved without the aid of inscriptions, by comparing it with the Buddhist railings of Sânchi and Mathura. By this test we see at once, by its square pillars and thick rails, that it belongs to the same period as the Sânchi railings, from which it differs only in being ornamented.

With reference to this question of ornamentation, I have given in Plate XXVII, Fig. 1, a sketch of one of the compart-

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* Julien's Hwen Thsang, II, 465.

† Gladwyn's Ain-i-Akbari, II, 25.—"Gaya, the place of Hindu worship is in this Sirkar; they call it Brahma Gaya, being consecrated to Brahma *yoni*, or Brahma *Juin*, by the Brahmans.

‡ Burnouf Introduction à l' Histoire du Buddhisme, Indien, p. 388.

§ See Plate XXV for the plan, and Plates XXVI and for specimens XXVII of the ornamentations of this railing.

ments of an entrance pillar which is now fixed, along with many others, in the verandah of the inner court of the Mahant's residence.

The subject is *Sûryâ*, or the Sun driving a four-horsed chariot, with two attendant archers shooting his rays like arrows upon the earth. In this treatment I think that there is a decided evidence of Greek influence in the restricted number of *four* horses attached to the chariot; for the Indian Sûrya, from the earliest times, down to the present day, has always been represented as driving a chariot with *seven* horses. In the Rig Veda he drives "seven bay" or bright-backed steeds,* and in all the Brahmanical sculptures that I have seen, there are seven horses carved on the pedestal, which are being driven by Aruna, while two attendants, on each side, shoot downwards the golden arrows of the solar rays.† The chariot however is Indian, as may be seen by comparing it with the specimen given in figure 3 of Plate XXVII from the Sanchi Tope. But whence came the four horses? To this question I can only reply—"From the Greeks," and in proof of this opinion, I have given in fig. 2 of the same plate, a sketch of the well known classical representation of Phœbus Apollo in his chariot drawn by four horses. It is true that this composition is of later date than the age of Asoka; but as both the chariot and horses are mentioned in the Homeric Hymn to Helios,‡ they are much earlier than the time of Asoka. That this particular treatment of the subject was familiar to the Eastern Greeks we learn from a recently discovered tetradrachma of Platon, on which Helios, radiated, is represented driving to the right in a chariot drawn by four horses. There was a famous temple of the Sun at Taxila, of which place Asoka had once been governor during his father's lifetime. Here then the Indians might have seen the Greek representations of the Sun god, which was afterwards carried to Palibothra by either pure Greek, or half Greek sculptors. I agree with Mr. Fergusson in thinking that the Indians in all probability derived the *art* of sculpture from the Greeks. In the Panjâb this would have been introduced as early as 300 B. C., and in a few years it would have found its way to the great capital of Palibothra.

* H. H. Wilson's *Rig Veda*, I, 126; II, 133; III, 314; and IV, 133.

† See Moor's Hindu Pantheon, Plates 87, 88, and 89; Coleman's Mythology of the Hindus, Plate 24, fig. 2; and Buchanan's Eastern India, I, p. 86., Plate XII, fig. 2.

‡ See Pellerin, Tom., II. Sppt. Plate VI., fig. 3.

I speak now only of the sculptor's art, not of the mason's trade, for I do not suppose that building with stone was unknown to the Indians at the time of Alexander's invasion. On the contrary, I will show, in another portion of this report, not only that stone buildings were in use before that time, but that some of these are still standing at the present day.

2nd.—The next remains in point of antiquity connected with the great temple belong to the first century after the Christian era. I have already mentioned that a statue of Buddha was discovered *in situ* by Major Mead in a small temple opposite the large one bearing an inscription which Bâbu Râjendra Lâl pronounced to be in Gupta characters, and which must therefore be assigned to a date shortly after the Christian era. To this I am now able to add four massive sandstone architraves of a Buddhist railing, with sculptures and inscriptions which belong to the 1st and 2nd centuries after Christ. Sketches of these curious and interesting specimens of ancient Indian sculpture are given in the accompanying plates.*

The section in Plate XXVIII shows a height of 13½ inches, with a thickness of 11½ inches. As the last dimension is half an inch less than that of the granite pillars of Asoka's railing, and three inches less than that of the sandstone pillars, these four coping stones must have belonged to a different railing, the pillars of which must have been about 10 inches square. From the position in which they were found, I think that they may have belonged to a new railing in front of the great temple, which, as I have attempted to show, was probably built about the beginning of the Christian era. Three of these coping stones were found at the point marked Z in the plan,† arranged in a straight line on the granite floor, and the fourth was discovered, split into two slabs, in the rough roof over the Buddha-pad. I have marked them separately as A, B, C, and D in the accompanying plates, which are all drawn to one-eighth of the original size. The four stones give a total length of 20 feet of architrave.

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* Plates XXVIII, XXIX and XXX.

† Plate XXV.—These three stones must have been seen by Major Mead's workmen, as they are entered in his plan as "stone kerb." He must therefore have considered them to be *in situ*.

A is the shortest piece, 3 feet 7 inches in length. On the front is represented a procession of animals, half fabulous, half natural, led by a human-headed and winged bull. Next comes a winged man and horse, then a pair of buffaloes and a monkey. Beneath there is an imperfect inscription in one line, which I read as follows—

dram padam kritá yesham dúná * *
masa masinácharyya * * *

On the back is the flower pattern marked A in Plate XXX, one-fourth of the original size.

B is 4 feet 7 inches in length. On this the procession of animals is headed by a pair of winged goats, female and male, followed by a ewe and a ram, after which come a cow and bull, and last a winged horse. On the back there is a very elegant border of lotus flowers represented in Plate XXX, Fig. B.

C is the broken slab in the roof of the Buddha-pad, 5 feet 6 inches in length. On this the leading pair of animals appear to be intended for hippopotami. The next pair are clearly elephants; but the sculptor has shown a strange ignorance of the true form of their hind legs. These are followed by a bull and a lion. On the back is the scroll border marked C in Plate XXX.

D is the largest fragment of these curious animal bas-reliefs, being 6 feet 5 inches long. It is represented in Plate XXIX in two portions, of which the lower follows on the right hand of the upper. In this bas-relief the sculptor has given the rein to his fancy, and exhibited a procession of sea-monsters, by simply adding fish-tails to the foreparts of well known land animals. The elephants seem to me to be the most comical, although they are by nature half aquatic. Below the procession there is a long inscription in two lines, which is unfortunately much injured in the middle. It is certainly a Buddhist record, as the words *Bhagavate Buddhaya* occur twice in the upper line,* as well as the well known term *Vihâre* just before the second *Bhagavate*. On the back of the stone there is the flower pattern marked D in Plate XXX.

As these inscriptions are sufficient to show that the Buddhist railing to which they belonged was at least as old as the second century after Christ, I think it most probable

* See A2 and A4, Plate XXIX.

that this railing must have been set up in front of the great temple shortly after its completion. Several fabulous sea-monsters had already become familiar in the numerous sculptured railings at Mathura, which belong to the Indo-Scythian period of the century just before and after Christ. But we have a still earlier example in the Triton or Merman of Asoka's railing at Buddha Gaya itself, of which I have given a sketch in Plate XXVI. The original idea of these sea-monsters I believe to have been derived from the well known Tritons, Hippocamps and Capricorni of the Greeks. Their first appearance in the sculptures of Asoka's age is, in my opinion, a strong presumptive proof that the Indians derived the art of sculpture from the Greeks. It is a fact, which receives fresh proofs every day, that the art of sculpture, or certainly of good sculpture, appeared suddenly in India at the very time that the Greeks were masters of the Kâbul valley, that it retained its superiority during the period of the Greek and half-Greek rule of the Indo-Scythians, and that it deteriorated more and more the further it receded from the Greek age, until its degradation culminated in the wooden inanities and bestial obscenities of the Brahmanical temples.

3rd.—To the third period of the temple's history, I would ascribe the addition of the two-storeyed pavilion to the eastern face, which, as we know from Hwen Thsang's description, must have been built some time before A. D. 637. I infer also from the story of Sasângka's minister placing a lamp in the inner chamber of the temple before the figure of Mahâdeva *on account of the darkness*, that the front pavilion and all the vaults and arches had already been added before A. D. 590 or 600, say about 500 A. D. To this period I would refer the repairs of the plaster of many of the mouldings, which must have been done some time between the date of the original building and that of the great second plastering by the Burmese in A. D. 1305. To this period also I would refer the basalt plinth which we now see in front of the temple,* and perhaps also the basalt pedestal of the great temple itself.† The mouldings of both include a *cyma*, which is not found in the original *brick*

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* Plate XXXI, fig. 7.

† See Archæological Survey Report, Vol I, Plate V, for the mouldings of this pedestal, and of the basement of the great temple itself.

basements of either the Nâlanda or Buddha Gaya temples, but which is the most striking feature in the mediæval *stone basement* of the Nâlanda temple.*

Now the stone basement or portico of the Nâlanda temple is beyond all doubt an after-addition to the original brick temple. This is clearly proved by its being built against the mouldings of the plastered brickwork, instead of being bonded with it. The junction is made so awkwardly that the ornamental band of moulding is left rough, and the hollow between the end of the stone and brick mouldings is filled with plain bricks. On this subject Captain Marshall, who appears to have examined the building very closely, makes the following observations :—"The whole temple was made of the large brick or tile that appears to have been universally employed in building these *Buddhist* structures; and, speaking generally, the whole building had been raised at the same time; but in more than one instance, from break in the bond, it was manifest that portions were either the result of an after-thought, or, at any rate, had been built at some subsequent date." At what date this addition was made to the Nâlanda temple may be approximately fixed by the mason's marks which I found on some of the granite blocks of the portico. Fig. 8 of Plate XXXI reads *Nala*, and fig. 9 simply *la*, the initial letter being wanting. Both are incomplete, but I have no doubt that they were intended for *Nâlanda*, being the mason's marks made at the quarry to show that the stones were destined for *Nâlanda*;† Fig. 10 reads *Sriva* or *Suva*, or perhaps simply *Sava*. Now the forms of these letters are certainly earlier than those of the seventh century, as exhibited in the Tibetan alphabet and the coins of *Sasângka*. The granite portico of the Nâlanda temple was therefore added before A. D. 600, or, say, not later than A. D. 500, which agrees with the date assigned to the basalt pedestal and basalt plinth of the Buddha Gaya temple showing the same peculiar moulding.

From this date down to A. D. 1305, a period of about eight centuries, we have at present no record connected with the temple. But during the greater part of this time

* Plate XXXI, figs. 11 and 12.

† A similar practice may be noticed in the mason's marks of the great Dhamek stupa at Sarnath Banâras. I found the letters *Isa* on no less than eight stones, which on a ninth were extended to *Isapa*, leaving no doubt that they were a contraction for the well known name of *Isa-patana*, the famous temple of the Deer Park near Banâras.

Buddhism flourished under the fostering care of the Pâla Rajas of Magadha. For instance, on one of the Buddhist statues now at Buddha Gaya I found a short inscription of two lines, in which Mahipâla, who reigned in the beginning of the 11th century, is called *Parama bhaṭṭâraka parama Saugata*, "the supreme king, the *pre-eminent* Buddhist." When all the inscriptions now collected have been translated, we shall probably know much more of the varied fortunes of the great temple of Buddha Gaya.

4th.—The fourth period in the history of the temple is the record of its repair by the Burmese in A. D. 1305. The inscription itself is on a slab of basalt which is now fixed in the wall of the Mahant's residence. A facsimile of it will be found in the accompanying plate.* Two translations have been published of this inscription; the first by Ratna Pâla, a Ceylonese Pali scholar,† and the second by Colonel Burney with the aid of Burmese Pali scholars.‡ The dates were read wrongly by the Burmese for the purpose of making the inscription tally with their own native history; for, as Colonel Burney confesses, "if we take the two dates to be 667 and 668, the inscription cannot refer to any of the kings of Pagân, as that capital was destroyed by the Chinese in the Burman year 646, or A. D. 1284."§ Now as the two dates of the inscription are beyond all doubt 667 and 668,‖ we must give up the attempt to connect the Burmese with the repair of the temple, and accept the Raja of Arakan as the pious worshipper of Buddha. This is in accordance with the belief of the people of Rangoon, who told Colonel Burney that "the form of many of the letters, as well as some idiomatic expressions, proved the inscription to have been put up by a native of Arakan." This also is Sir Arthur Phayre's opinion, who says: "the archetype of this inscription has evidently been written by an Arakanese, or the stone was engraved by an Arakanese workman, from a peculiarity in the spelling of certain words still prevailing

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* Plate XXXII, fig. 1.

† Journal of Bengal Asiatic Society, 1834, p. 214.

‡ Asiatic Researches of Bengal, Vol. XX., p. 164.

§ Ditto ditto ditto, p. 185, note.

‖ The second is actually 660, as read by Sir Arthur Phayre, but as the previous date is unquestionably 667, the second must necessarily be later. Now the figure 8 is a three-quarter circle, which by a slip of the chisel, or the lapse of time, might easily have been made into a complete circle or O.

among the Arakanese.* All these probabilities amount to certainty when we find that *Meng-di*, the Raja of Arakan at the date of the inscription, had entered into friendly relations with *Nga-pur-kheng* (Nasirudden?), the Thu-ra-tan (or Sultan) of Bengal.†

The following is Ratna Pâla's translation :—"This is one of the 84,000 shrines erected by Sri Dharmâsoka, ruler of the world, at the end of the 218th year of Buddha's *Nirvana*, upon the holy spot in which Bhagavân (Buddha) tasted (rice) milk and honey (*Madhupayasa*). In lapse of time, having fallen into disrepair, it was rebuilt by a priest named *Naik Mahanta*. Again being ruined, it was restored by Raja *Sadonang*. After a long interval it was once more demolished, when Raja *Sempyu Sakhen Tura Mengi* appointed his Gûrû, Sri Dharma Râjaguna, to superintend the building. He proceeded to the spot with his disciple Sri Kâsyapa, but they were unable to complete it, although aided in every way by the raja. Afterwards *Varadasi Naik Thera* petitioned the raja to undertake it, to which he readily assented, commissioning prince Pyutasing to the work, who again deputed the younger Pyusa Kheng and his minister Ratha to cross over and repair the sacred building. It was thus constructed a fourth time, and finished on Friday, the 10th day of *Pya-Tola*, in the Sakarâj year 667 (A. D. 1305). On Sunday, the 8th of *Tachhoon Mungla* 668 (A. D. 1306), it was consecrated with splendid ceremonies and offerings of food, perfumes, banners and lamps, and *puja* of the famous ornamented tree called *Kalpa-vriksha*, and the poor were treated with charity as the raja's own children. Thus was completed this meritorious act, which will produce internal reward and virtuous fruits. May the founders endure in fame, enjoy the tranquillity of *Nirvana*, and become *Arahanta* on the advent of Arya Maitri (the future Buddha)."

When this inscription is compared with the information furnished by Hwen Thsang, it seems highly probable that the previous buildings and repairs may be identified and made clearer by the narrative of the Chinese pilgrim. Both statements agree that the original temple was built by Asoka. Then, after the lapse of some time, a new Vihâr was built on a grand scale by a Brahman, who must therefore be the

* Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, 1844, p. 40, note on the history of Arakan.
† Sir Arthur Phayre's History of Arakan, in Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, 1844, p. 13.

Naik Mahanta of Ratna Pâla, and the *Pen-tha-gu-gyi* of Colonel Burney. As *Gyi* simply means "great," the name of the builder was *Pensagu*, which appears to be an Indian rather than a Burmese name. I suspect that it may perhaps be only the title of *Upasika*, but there is a large tank at Nâlanda called *Pansoka Pokhar*, which may possibly preserve the true name of the founder of the temple.

The next point mentioned by Hwen Thsang is the addition of a two-storeyed pavilion to the eastern front or entrance. This may perhaps be the work said to have been done by Raja *Sadomang*, or King *Thado*, as Colonel Burney calls him with the view of identifying him with a Burmese king. *Thadomang* is the name in the original, which would represent some pure Indian name beginning with *Sada* or *Sata*, or *Sartha*, or perhaps even *Sara*. *Mang* is probably a Burmese translation of *pati*, or *natha*, or even of *raja*. This may hereafter afford a clue to the real name. If there be any truth in the Amara Deva inscription, he himself should be the *Sadomang* of the Burmese inscription.

What was done to the temple in A. D. 1305 and 1306 I take to have been extensive repairs, including a complete coat of plaster, which has lasted very fairly until the present day. In Plate XXXI I have given sketches of three prominent changes which this last coat of plaster made in the building. Everywhere there are two coats of plaster, and in some places three; but changes have been introduced by the last coat of plaster, which may have been due to the hurry of foreigners who wished to get back quickly to their own country. Fig. 1 represents the ornaments on one of the larger mouldings of the original plaster, and fig. 2 the later perfectly plain coat of plaster which covers the other. In fig. 3 the first coat of plaster shows a row of square-headed niches, which the later coat No. 4 has changed to round-headed ones. In fig. 5 we have the old plaster capitals of the pilasters, representing an *amalaka* fruit, turned into perfectly plain mouldings by the second coat of plaster shown in No. 6.

The question now arises—When was this last coat of plaster put on the building? If by the Arakanese in A. D. 1305, as I suppose, then the temple itself must be at least several centuries older. We have no knowledge, and not even a tradition, of any subsequent repairs, and I confess that I have not seen anything about the temple which looks like

the work of a later date. But about the time of the Arakanese repairs there was undoubtedly a revival which lasted for a few years, and then passed away for ever. The Buddha-pad was consecrated in the Saka year 1230, or A. D. 1308, just two years after the repair of the temple; and the dated inscriptions on the granite pavement show that the number of pilgrims who visited the shrine about this time was considerable. Two of these inscriptions I have already published,* dated in Samvat 1385 and 1388, or A. D. 1328 and 1331.

There is nothing of a later date about the great temple, save a couple of records of modern Burmese pilgrims, for a translation of which I am indebted to Sir Arthur Phayre. The text of the inscriptions is given in Plate XXXII, Nos. 2 and 4.

No. 2.

ON A VOTIVE CHAITYA.

1.—In 1185 (A. D. 1823), the 2nd day of the waxing moon of Wa-khoung.

2.—Shime-pu, resident of the place called Kwun-tshwai, wrote this stone writing.

No. 4.

ON PEDESTAL OF SIVA AND PARVATI.

1.—In 1171 (A. D. 1809), the 13th day of the waxing moon Thedengyat, Mahâ * *

2.—Master of the lord-elephant, great lord of life, the royal gift * * *

3.— * * presented and made offerings. May men and angels applaud!

4.—The persons who came are Nga-pe-tu and Nga-Kway.

On this inscription Sir Arthur Phayre remarks—"I presume that these persons were sent from Ava as the king's substitutes to make offerings. Inscribing the image of Mahâdeva would be like presenting a *servant* to his lord."

PRAGBODHI OR MORA MOUNTAIN.

The two Chinese pilgrims describe a famous cave in a mountain which was situated on the eastern bank of the Phalgu river, and about three miles to the north-east of the great temple of the Bodhi-drûm. This is the Mora Moun-

* See Archæological Survey of India, Vol. I, Plate VI.

tain of the present day, in which there still exists a natural cavern in the position indicated by the pilgrims. Fa Hian calls the distance "less than half a *yojan*," or 3½ miles, which Hwen Thsang shortens to 14 or 15 *li*, or about 2½ miles. The actual distance is just 3½ miles to the cavern, but only 2½ miles to the nearest point of the hill. The legend connected with this cave is thus related by Fa Hian:*—

"Going north-east from this half a *yojana* we arrived at a stone cell, into which Bodhisatwa entering sat down with his legs crossed, and his face toward the west. Whilst thus seated he reflected—'If I am to arrive at the condition of perfect wisdom, then let there be some spiritual manifestation.' Immediately on the stone wall there appeared a shadow of Buddha, in length somewhat about three feet. This shadow is still distinctly visible. Then the heavens and the earth were greatly shaken, so much so that all the *Devas* resident in space cried out and said—'This is not the place appointed for the Buddhas (past or those to come) to arrive at perfect wisdom,'" &c.

Hwen Thsang gives a similar version of the legend,† but with the addition of many minute details. He calls the mountain *Polo-ki-pu-ti*, or *Pragbodhi*. "Here the Bodhisatwa wished to live in solitude and silence until he should obtain 'perfect intelligence.' Half-way down the mountain, and facing the river, there was a cavern in which the Bodhisatwa sat down with crossed legs. Then the earth shook and the mountain trembled, and the *Devas* called out with a loud voice 'This is not the place where a Tathâgata can obtain perfect intelligence.' The Nâga of the cavern then besought his favour, and the Bodhisatwa left his shadow behind him and departed."

The cave in the Mora Mountain is a natural fissure about half-way up the western slope, and facing the Phalgu river. It is shaped like a crescent, 37 feet in length and 5½ feet in width, with an entrance in the middle of the convex face 3 feet 2 inches in width and 4 feet 10 inches in height. At the upper or north end there is another opening 4 feet broad and 4 feet high, which gives light to the cave. At the south end the fissure continues for a further distance of 24 feet, but of such small dimensions that a

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* Beal's Fa Hian, C. XXXI, p. 121.
† Julien's Hwen Thsang, II, p. 47.

man can only just crawl along it. Its height is 2 feet 7 inches, but its width is only 1 foot 7 inches. At the back or east side of the cavern there is a ledge of rock 8 inches high, which probably served as a pedestal for the shadow of Buddha which was figured on the rock. Every year, at the close of the rainy season, the monks used to climb this mountain to make their offerings and spend a night or two in the cavern.

GAYA.

The town of Gaya is one of the most famous places of Brahmanical worship in Northern India. It is said to have received its name from an Asur named Gaya, whose story is told in the Gaya-Mahâtmya, from which it has been extracted by Buchanan.* The drift of the story is to account for the origin of the temple of Vishnu-pad. The Asur by his rigid devotions was becoming so powerful as to alarm the gods. *Brahmá* tried to hold him down, but was defeated. He then called in the aid of *Surya* as *Gayâditya,* or lord of Gaya, but he too was defeated. Then other gods were called, and all sat upon him, but in vain. At last the aid of Vishnu was sought, and he quelled the Asur at once by putting his foot upon him. Some say that his foot was put upon the Asur's head, hence the name of *Gaya-sira,* or Gaya's head; but the temple is built on a low rocky point at the foot of the great mountain of Brahmâ-*yoni,* which in all the Buddhist books is called the "Mountain of Gaya." Brahmâ-yoni, or Brahmâ-juin, is therefore the true *Gayasiras.*

In the time of Buddha there were three *Kâsyapas,* brothers, who were separately named Nadi-Kâsyapa, Gaya-Kâsyapa, and Uruvilwa-Kâsyapa. The first two lived at the foot of the Gaya Mountain, and the last at Uruvilwa, or Buddha Gaya. The Kâsyapas were converted to Buddhism by Buddha himself; and the story of the Vishnu-pad would appear to be only a late Brahmanical version invented on the suppression of some previously existing Buddha-pad.

There are no ancient temples of any kind now existing in Gaya, but there are numerous images, both Buddhist and Brahmanical, and many inscriptions of both creeds

* Eastern India, I, p. 51.

which still remain to be translated. Several of these are Buddhist, but it is impossible to ascertain whether they were found in Gaya itself, or brought from Buddha Gaya. There does not appear to be a single inscription *in situ*, excepting perhaps a few of the later records of pilgrims to the shrines of Gadâdhar and Vishnu-pad. Until the inscriptions have been translated, it seems idle to speculate any further on the previous history of Gaya.

The town of Gaya is situated on the left or western bank of the Phalgu river, at the foot of the mountain of Brahmâ-*juin*. Many of the houses are seated on rocky points, and the spires of the temples, the lofty stone houses, and numerous ghâts leading down to the Phalgu form a very picturesque view from the opposite bank of the river.

The principal temple is the Vishnu-pad, which was built by the Mahratta Queen Ahalya Bai towards the close of the last century. I was informed that the whole expenditure amounted to 16 lakhs of rupees, of which only 9 were spent on the building, the remaining 7 having been divided amongst the Brahmans.* It is built of grey granite, with good deep mouldings, but with only one belt of shallow ornament. The main building is an open hall or *Mandapa*, 58 feet square, with the corners indented, supported on eight rows of clustered pillars, leaving an open space in the middle only 16 feet square.† The pillars, which are polygonal, with slight ornaments, are clustered in groups of four. They are disposed in two storeys one above the other, which gives a massive but rather heavy appearance to the exterior. The centre is covered by a gracefully shaped dome formed in the usual Indian manner by overlapping stones.

The sanctum of the temple is an octagonal tower 38 feet in diameter, with a lofty pyramidal roof. The sides of the octagon are alternately plain and indented, each angle as it reaches the pyramidal roof finishing in a series of small pinnacles one above the other, until they all culminate in a single tall and rather graceful pinnacle. These pinnacles, I have been told, are supposed to represent the peaks of Mount Meru. The total height of the dome may be about 80 feet, and that of the pyramidal tower about 100 feet.

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* Buchanan, Eastern India, I, 63, gives only 3 lakhs for the building. My informant was the grandson of the principal Gaya sculptor who was employed on the temple.

† See Plate XXXIII for a plan of the temple.

The extreme length of the temple is only 82 feet 2 inches, and its breadth 54 feet 4 inches.

The object of worship I did not see, as I was not allowed to enter the temple. But the description given of it agrees with that received by Buchanan. It is simply a long shallow hole in the rock, on which the temple is built, somewhat resembling a man's foot-mark in shape, but much larger. This indentation is supposed to be the footprint of Vishnu when he trod down the Asur Gayâ. Immediately in front of the temple there is a small four-pillared cupola, in which hangs a bell presented by Ranajit Pânde, minister of the Raja of Nepal; and in the entrance to the temple itself there is a second bell, bearing the following inscription:—"A gift to the Bishnu-pad by Mr. Francis Gillanders. Gaya, 15th January 1798." Gillanders was the collector of the pilgrim tax at the time of Buchanan's visit, and the length of his residence in Gaya may have given him a kindly feeling towards the pilgrims, which has been exhibited in this unusual manner.

A little to one side of the Nepalese bell there is an open pillared hall called *Sola-bedi*, in which the pilgrims assemble before beginning the tour of the holy places. In this hall I have seen from 400 to 500 people huddled together in small groups under the guidance of different Brahmans—some busy in kneading balls of coarse flour to present to the Vishnu-pad, others repeating the names of the gods whose temples they were about to visit. During this time the bell was kept constantly clanging amid a confused repetition of "*jay Gadâdhar ji, jay Gadâdhar*," &c.

The courtyard of the Vishnu-pad is irregular in shape, and much contracted in space by the erection of a *bâradari* for the accommodation of the *Gayawâls*, or priests of the shrines of Vishnu. Numbers of inscriptions of different ages are fixed indiscriminately in the walls of the courtyard and in the basement of the *baradari*. These will be referred to hereafter in my list of the Gaya inscriptions.

In a second courtyard close by stands a small granite temple dedicated to Vishnu as *Gadâdhara*, or the "mace-bearer." Near its north-west corner there is a small rough pillar without capital, and a small rude elephant called *gaj*, from which the *panj-kosa* or *five-kos* pilgrimage circuit is measured—from Buddha Gaya on the south to the hill of Pret-sila on the north. I presume that a pun is

intended by placing the image of an elephant, *gaj*, at the point from which the measurement begins, as *gaj* also means a measure. In the passage near the gate there is a fine large statue of Indra seated on a throne supported by two elephants. To the north-west of the last stands the temple of *Gayâsuri Devi.* Buchanan writes the name *Gayeswari Devi,** but the people certainly prefer the former name, as they call the goddess the wife of Gayâsur. The enshrined statue, however, is the well-known form of the eight-armed Durgâ as Mahesâsuri or Bhainsâsuri Devi. Perhaps the name of Gayâsura may have been originally applied to the buffalo demon who is being trodden down by Durgâ as a rival representation to the Vishnu-pad. In this case the true name would be *Gayâsuri Devi,* or the "goddess triumphant over Gayâsura."

At a short distance from the Vishnu-pad group of temples there is a large tank and temple dedicated to *Sûrya.* The enclosing wall of the tank is 292 by 156 feet, with a fine nîm tree at the western end, opposite the entrance to the temple. The piece of ground on which the nîm tree is planted is called *Kankhal,* after the Bedi who built the terrace around it. The temple itself is only the remains of the old building repeatedly repaired and whitewashed. It consists of an entrance portico and hall 39 feet long by 25½ feet broad, and a small sanctum at the west end 8¾ feet square.† The walls are of brick, but the pillars are all single blocks of granite 10 feet in height and well proportioned, but without ornament.‡ The enshrined image is a fine figure of the sun-god with two arms, and with his seven horses driven by Arun on the pedestal. Many Brahmanical images are collected in groups inside the hall. Two important inscriptions are fixed in the walls inside, of which one is the famous Buddhist inscription dated in the year 1819 of the Nirvâna of Buddha. The other belongs to the reign of Fizuz-Tughlak, and may probably belong to the temple.

Whilst I was engaged in examining the temple, a party of Brahmans entered, and, after paying their obeisance to the image of Surya, they chaunted a hymn to the sun-god in Sanskrit. The Brahmans were soon followed by a party of women, who sang some verses in a language which seemed to

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* Eastern India, I, 58. † Plate XXXIII, fig. 3.
‡ Plate XXXIV, fig. 1.

be rather familiar to me, and which were at once recognized by my Brahman draughtsman, Bâbu Jumna Sankâr. The following are the words of the women's song :—

Apne Govindji se mile rahnâ,
Bât sabhan ki sehnâ.
Jo koï bâdi bâd karna lâge,
Châr bât seh rahnâ;
Apne Govindji, &c.

Jo koi Sant milen barh bhâgi,
Dukh, sukh, un se kahna.
Apne Govindji, &c.

Kaha Nânak, "sun Bhartri Jogi,
Harke Charan geh rahnâ;"
Apne Govindji, &c.

which may be freely translated as follows :—

Joined with our own Govindji,
Happy and content are we.
Should we meet a disputant,
We'll not listen to his rant;
For joined with our own Govindji,
Happy and content are we.

If a holy man appears,
We'll tell him all our joys and fears;
For joined with our own Govindji,
Happy and content are we.

As Nanak unto Bhartri said,
'Steadfast hold by Vishnu-pad;'
So joined with our own Govindji,
Happy and content are we.

About half a mile to the south-west of the Vishnu-pad, and immediately under the hill of Brahm-juin is the famous *Akshay-bat*, or sacred banyan tree of Brahm-Gaya. The temple is small and mean, but the tree is a fine one, and a sketch of it forms one of Daniell's charming views of India in the end of the last century. In his sketch will be seen an inscription slab let into the wall. This slab is still there with its lower right hand corner broken off, just as he saw it. The inscription is a long one, but I am afraid it is too much injured to be deciphered. It opens with an invocation to Siva, and was therefore probably taken from the neighbouring temple of Buteswara Mahâdeva.

To the north of the last stands the restored temple of *Parpitâ Maheswara*, with a large tank to the westward, called *Rukmini-kund* or *Rukmini Tâl.* It is built entirely of granite

blocks, the remains of former buildings, amongst which is a curious Nâgari inscription of the time of *Surtân Mojadin.* It consists only of an entrance hall, supported on pillars, in front a massive sanctum; the former being 27 feet square, and the latter 11 feet, with walls 8½ feet thick.* The pillars are upwards of 14 feet in height, and not so plain as those of Sûrya's temple.† The lintel or architrave of the original temple is now used as a step at the entrance.

On the bank of the Phalgu, at a short distance to the north of *Vishnupada,* is the well known Bâhmani Ghât, with a number of small temples of much repute but poor appearance. The chief of these is a temple to Sûrya, in which is enshrined a large statue of the sun-god, 5 feet 11 inches in height. In various places around are collected numerous pieces of Brahmanical sculpture, amongst which I observed a votive stupa with the Buddhist formula of faith inscribed upon it. Close by, there is an open *Dharmsâla,* or travellers' house, 30 feet long by 24½ feet broad, supported on 20 granite pillars of several different patterns. I have selected two of these as specimens in the accompanying plate,—one plain, and one ornamented,—of which the first is the common form all over Magadha.‡ It is remarkable for the amount of diminution in its upper diameter. There are several short inscriptions on these pillars, but they are generally too indistinct from the roughness of the granite surface to be easily read. One of them opens with—

Maharaja Sri Prithi Raja

which may refer to the famous Chauhân chief, as the characters are as old as the 11th or 12th century. The oldest dated inscription gives the year 1481 Saka and 1346 Samvat, equivalent to A. D. 1424, but the whole of it is very faint and indistinct. A second dated inscription in large letters, on three faces of one of the octagonal pillars, gives the year 1394 Samvat, or A. D. 1337. So far as I have made it out, it contains the names of several private individuals. Another pillar gives the date of Samvat 1481, or A. D. 1424, but the few remaining letters of it are nearly illegible.

The numerous inscriptions which have been found at Gaya and Buddha Gaya, and other parts of ancient Magadha, refer chiefly to the period during which the *Pâla* dynasty held

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* Plate XXXIII, fig. 2. † Plate XXXIV, fig. 2.
‡ Plate XXXIV, figs. 3 and 4.

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the sovereignty of Eastern India, including Banâras, Magadha, and Bengal, towards the end of their career. The province of *Gauda*, or Bengal, was wrested from them by the founder of the *Sena* dynasty; but the descendants of the *Pâlas* would appear to have continued to rule over Magadha itself until the period of the Muhammadan conquest. The dates of the inscriptions are unfortunately given in the years of the different kings' reigns; but in two cases we have the Samvat date, and in one case the year of the Jovian cycle of 60 years, in addition to the Samvat and regnal years. This last date, so minutely fixed, is that of Govinda Pâla Deva, in A. D. 1162, within 40 years of the Muhammadan conquest, which shows that the well known Sena dynasty of Bengal did not then possess Magadha. Four important inscriptions of this dynasty were published in the early volumes of the Asiatic Researches of Bengal,* and a fifth was discovered by Kittoe at Ghosrâwa.† Buchanan mentioned several inscriptions at Gaya, of which most are still in existence.‡ One of these is the dated inscription of Govinda Pâla Deva, which I have just referred to.

In the following list of inscriptions I have given all that seems to possess any historical value. There are numbers of short inscriptions of two or three lines scattered about Gaya and Buddha Gaya, and other places in Magadha, but most of them contain only the well known profession of the Buddhist faith, beginning with "*Ye dharmma*," &c., or the name of some private donor of an image or votive stupa, without either date or name of the reigning king. Three of the inscriptions in my list, Nos. 7, 15, and 16, are taken from sculptures in the collection made by Mr. Broadley, when Deputy Magistrate of Bihâr. No. 4 is also in his collection, but this had already been published by me in a former report. No. 10 is likewise in his collection, but this had been previously discovered by Captain Marshall when making the excavation which I had recommended. A cast of the inscription was sent down to the Asiatic Society at the time, but no notice of the discovery was made in the journal of the Society.

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* Bengal Asiatic Society's Transactions, Vol. I—Pillar of Buddal, and copper plate from Mongir, translated by Wilkins, and Dinajpur copper plate.

† Translated by Ballantyne, Journal Bengal Asiatic Society, XVII, 492.

‡ Eastern India, I, 61, &c.

GENEALOGICAL INSCRIPTIONS OF THE PALA DYNASTY OF MAGADHA.

No. 1.—*On a copper plate found at*

MONGIR.*

" Prosperity !—His wishes are accomplished; his heart is steadfast in the cause of others. He walks in the paths of virtue. May the achievements of this fortunate prince cause innumerable blessings to his people.

" By displaying the strength of his genius, he hath discovered the road to all human acquirements, for being a *Sugata*, he is the lord of the universe.

" *Gopâla,* king of the world, possessed matchless good fortune. He was the lord of two brides, the earth and her wealth. By comparison of the learned, he was likened unto *Prithu, Sagara*, and others : and it is credited.

" When his innumerable army marched, the heavens were so filled with the dust of their feet, that the birds of the air could rest upon it.

" He acted according to what is written in the *Shastra*, and obliged the different sects to conform to their proper tenets. He was blessed with a son, *Dharma Pâla*, when he became independent of his forefathers, who are in heaven.

" His elephants moved like walking mountains ; and the earth oppressed by their weight and mouldered into dust, found refuge in the peaceful heaven.

" He went to extirpate the wicked and plant the good ; and happily his salvation was effected at the same time ; for his servants visited *Kedara* and drank milk according to the law ; and they offered up their vows where the Ganges joins the ocean, and at *Gokarna* and other places.

" When he had completed his conquests, he released all the rebellious princes he had made captive ; and each returning to his own country, laden with presents, reflected upon this generous deed, and longed to see him again, as mortals remembering a pre-existence, wish to return to the realms of light.

" This prince took the hand of the daughter of *Parabala*, raja of many countries, whose name was Rannâ Devi, and he became settled.

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* Asiatic Researches, Vol. I, p. 123, 8vo. edition—translated by Wilkins. I have altered the Bengali spelling of the proper names.

"The people being amazed at her beauty, formed different opinions of her. Some said it was *Lakhi* herself in her shape; others, that the earth had assumed her form; many said it was the raja's fame and reputation; and others that a household goddess had entered his palace. And her wisdom and virtue set her above all the ladies of the court.

"This virtuous and praiseworthy princess bore a son, *Deva Pâla Deva*, as the shell of the ocean produces the pearl.

"In whose heart there is no impurity; of few words and gentle manners; and who peaceably inherited the kingdom of his father, as *Bodhisatwa* succeeded *Sugata*.

"He who, marching through many countries making conquests, arrived with his elephants in the forests of the mountains of Vindhya, where seeing again their long lost families, they mixed their mutual tears; and who going to subdue other princes, his young horses meeting their females at Kâmboja, they mutually neighed for joy.

"He who has opened again the road of liberality, which was first marked out in the *Krita Yuga* by Bali, in which Bhargana walked in the *Treta Yuga*, which was cleansed by Karna in the *Dwâpara Yuga*, and was again choked up in the *Kâli Yuga* after the death of *Sakadwisi*.

"He who conquered the earth from the source of the Ganges, as far as the well known bridge which was constructed by the enemy of Dasâsya, from the river of Lakhikul as far as the ocean of the habitation of Varuna.

"At *Mudgagiri* (Monagiri or Mongir), where is encamped his victorious army, across whose river a bridge of boats is constructed for a road, which is mistaken for a chain of mountains, where immense herds of elephants, like thick black clouds, so darken the face of day that people think it the season of the rains; whither the princes of the north send so many troops of horse that the dust of their hoofs spreads darkness on all sides; whither so many mighty chiefs of Jambudwipa resort to pay their respects that the earth sinks beneath the weight of the feet of their attendants. Then *Deva Pâla Deva* (who walking in the footsteps of the mighty lord of the great *Sugatas*, the great commander Raja of Maharaja, *Dharma Pâla Deva*, is himself mighty lord of the great *Sugatas*, a great commander and Raja of Maharajas) issues his commands. To all the inhabitants of the town of *Mesika*, situated in *Krimila*, in the province of *Sri Nagara* (Pâtaliputra or Patna), which

is my own property, and which is not divided by any land belonging to another; to all (here follows a long list of titles of office bearers), to the different tribes, *Gauda*, *Mâlava*, *Khasa*, *Huna*, *Kalika*, *Karnâta*, *Lasata*, and *Bhota;* to all others of our subjects who are not here specified, and to the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages, from the Brâhmana and fathers of large families, to the tribes of *Meda-andharaka* and *Chandâla*:

"Be it known that I have given the above mentioned town of *Mesika*, whose limits include the fields where the cattle graze, above and below the surface, with all the lands belonging to it, together with all the mango and madhu trees, all its waters, and all their banks and verdure, all its rents and tolls, with all fines for crimes and rewards for catching thieves. In it there shall be no molestation, no passage for troops, nor shall any one take from it the smallest part. I give likewise everything that has been possessed by the servants of the raja. I give the earth and sky as long as the sun and moon shall last. Except, however, such lands as have been given to god and to the Brahmans, which they have long possessed and now enjoy. And that the glory of my father and mother, and my own fame may be increased, I have caused this Sâsana* to be engraved and granted unto the great Batha Bikharâta Misra, who has acquired all the wisdom of books, and has studied the Vedas under Aslayana; who is descended from Upamanyaba; who is the son of the learned and immaculate Batha Varâharâta; and whose grandfather was Batha Viswarâta; learned in the Vedas, and expert in performing the Yuga.

"Know all the aforesaid that as bestowing is meritorious, so taking away deserves punishment; wherefore leave it as I have granted it. Let all his neighbours and those who till the land be obedient to my commands. What you have formerly been accustomed to perform and pay, do it unto him in all things. Dated in *Samvat* 33, the 21st day of the month Mârga.

"Thus speak the following slokas from Dharma Anusâsana:—

1. "Râma hath required, from time to time, of all the rajas that may reign that the bridge of their beneficence be the same, and that they do continually repair it.

* Edict or grant.

2. "Lands have been granted by Sagara and many other rajas, and the fame of their deeds devolves to their successors.

3. "He who dispossesses any of his property which I myself or others have given, may he, becoming a worm, grow rotten in ordure with his forefathers.

4. "Riches and the life of man are as transient as drops of water upon a leaf of the lotus. Learning this truth, O man, do not attempt to deprive another of his reputation"

"The raja for the public good hath appointed his virtuous son *Rajya Pâla* to the dignity of *Yuva Raja*. He is in both lines of descent illustrious, and hath acquired all the knowledge of his father."

No. 2.—On a stone pillar at

BUDDAL.

This inscription has been translated at full length by Wilkins,* but as the greater part of it is taken up with the praises of a family of Brahmans who became the prime ministers of the Pâla Rajas of Magadha, it will be sufficient for historical purposes to give a brief abstract of its contents.

There was a Brahman named *Sri Darbha-pâni*, of the Sândilya race, "whose country, extending to Reva-Janak, to the father of Gauri, whose piles of rocks reek with the juice exuding from the heads of intoxicated elephants, and whose snow-white mountains are brightened by the sun's rays, to the two oceans, to that whence Aruna riseth from its bed, and to that wherein the sun sinketh in the west, the Prince *Sri Deva Pâla*, by his policy, rendered tributary.

"At whose gates stood, scarce visible amongst the vast concourse of nobles flocking to his standard from every quarter, *Sri Deva Pâla* in expectation of his submission.

"Whose throne that prince, who was the image of Indra, and the dust of whose feet was impressed with the diadems of sundry potentates, himself ascended with a flash of glory, although he had formerly been wont to offer him large sums of *pitas*, bright as the lunar rays."

"Darbha-pâni had a son named Someswara, whose son was *Kedara Misra*, who became prime minister of the King of Magadha.

* Asiatic Researches of Bengal, I, 133, 8vo. edition.

"Trusting to his wisdom, the King of *Gauḍa* for a long time enjoyed the country of the eradicated race of *Utkala*, of the *Hunas* of humbled pride, of the kings of *Dravida* and *Gurjjara*, whose glory was reduced, and the universal sea-girt throne.

"To him, emblem of Vrihaspati, and to his religious rites, the Prince *Sri Sûra Pâla*, who was a second Indra and whose soldiers were fond of wounds, went repeatedly.

"Kedâra Misra had a son named Gurava Misra, whose abilities were so great that he was solicitous to discover the essence of things; wherefore he was greatly respected by the Prince *Sri Nârâyana Pâla*.

"By him was recorded here, upon this lasting column, the superior beauty of whose shaft catcheth the eye of the beholder, whose aspiring height is as boundless as his own ideas, which is, as it were, a stake planted in the breast of Kâli (time), and on whose top sits *Târkshya* (Garuda), the foe of serpents and favourite bird of Hari, the line of his own descent.

"Garuda, like his fame, having wandered to the extremity of the world, and descended even into its foundation, was exalted here with a serpent in his mouth."

No. 3.—On a copper plate found at

AMGACHHI NEAR DINAJPUR.

The following brief notice of this inscription is given by Colebrooke:*—"The character is ancient Devanâgari and the language Sanskrit; but so great a part of the inscription is obliterated (some portion of each line being illegible) that it is difficult to discover the purport of the inscription. After wasting much time in endeavouring to decipher the whole of it, I have been able only to ascertain the name of the grantor, and part of his genealogy, with the date of the grant, which unfortunately is reckoned only by the reign, without any reference to a known era.

"The ornament affixed to the plate, and representing a seal, contains a single line of writing, which is distinctly read *Sri Vigraha Pâla Deva*. This name, as of the grantor, is found at the close of the inscription, and it occurs more than once in the body of the patent. Among his ancestors

* Asiatic Researches of Bengal, IX, 442, 8vo. edition.

and predecessors the following names are distinctly legible :—

"The first prince mentioned is *Loka Pâla*, and after him *Dharma Pâla*. The next name has not been deciphered; but the following one is *Jaya Pâla*, succeeded by *Deva Pâla*. Two or three subsequent names are yet undeciphered (one seems to be *Nârâyanâ*, perhaps *Nârâyana Pâla*). They are followed by *Raja Pâla*, *Pâla Deva*, and subsequently (*Vigraha Pâla**), *Mahi Pâla Deva*, *Naya Pâla*, and again *Vigraha Pâla Deva*.

"So far as a glimpse has been yet obtained of the purport of the inscription, it seems to be a grant by *Vigraha Pâla Deva*, in the making of which *Naya Pâla* likewise appears to have had some share. It is dated Samvat 12th, on the 9th day of Chaitra."

In this last inscription we have the genealogy or succession of no less than thirteen princes of the Pâla dynasty of Magadha. Two of the illegible names must be *Deva Pâla* and *Sura Pâla*, as we learn from a comparison of the Mongir and Buddâl inscriptions; and a third name, conjectured by Colebrooke to be *Nârâyana Pâla Deva*, is confirmed by the Buddâl inscription as well as by No. 6 inscription from Gaya. When the Mongir plate was inscribed the heir-apparent was *Rajya Pâla*, but it seems probable that he must have died before his father *Deva Pâla*, as the successor of that prince is named *Jaya Pâla* in the Dinajpur inscription. Perhaps *Râjya Pâla* may have succeeded and have left no heir, in which case his name might have been omitted in the genealogy.

The dates are given only in the years of the kings' reigns, but fortunately in the Sârnâth inscription of *Mahipâla* we have the Samvat year 1083, or A. D. 1026, which may be assumed as about the middle of his reign. The date of the Mongir inscription will therefore be about A. D. 800, that of the Buddâl pillar about 900, and that of the Dinajpur plate about 1050.

All the princes of the Pâla dynasty would appear to have been staunch Buddhists. This is specifically affirmed of *Gopâla* and *Deva Pâla I*, and also of *Mahipâla*; and to their liberality and sustained patronage must be attributed the flourishing of Buddhism, which continued to be the dominant

* This name has been omitted by the printer of the second 8vo. edition, from which I quote.

religion of Magadha from the middle of the eighth century down to the time of the Muhammadan conquest, when the monasteries were destroyed, and the monks put to death by the ruthless and illiterate Musalmans.

INSCRIPTIONS WITH DATES AND THE NAMES OF SINGLE KINGS.

No. 4.—On the base of a four-armed female statue. *

NALANDA.

1.—*Samvat* 1, *Aswin badi* 8, *parama bhattâraka Maharaja-dhiraja parmeswara Sri Gopâla râjâni Sri Nalandayam*
2.—*Sri Vagiswari* * * * *

"In the year 1, on the 8th day of the waxing moon of Aswin, in the reign of the paramount sovereign, the king of kings, the supreme lord, the auspicious *Gopâla*, in Nâlanda, * * the auspicious *Vagiswari* (a goddess)."

No. 5.—On a slab found by Kittoe.†

GHOSRAWA.

This inscription, consisting of 22 lines on a basalt slab, was translated by Dr. Ballantyne in 1848. It records the erection of a *vajrâsan* and of two *chaityas*, "beautiful as the peak of Mount *Indrasaila*," by one Vira Deva during the reign of *Deva Pâla*. He visited the Vihâr in *Yasovarmmapura*, where he stayed for some time and received the respectful attentions of the king. I conclude therefore that *Yasovarmmapura* was the political capital of Magadha, and I would identify it with the present town of Bihâr. The city probably received its name from *Yaso Varmma*, the king of Kanauj, who was contemporary with Lalitâditya of Kashmir, A. D. 723 to 760, and who is mentioned by the Chinese as *I-sha-fu-mo*, King of Central India, in A. D. 731. The name of the famous Nâlanda occurs at the beginning of the 14th line. I agree with Kittoe in assigning this important record to the ninth century.

No. 6.—On a slab in courtyard of Vishnu-pad.

GAYA.

This inscription of 16 long lines is quite perfect. It begins with the invocation *Aum namo Purushottamaya namah,*

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* Buchanan's Eastern India, Vol. 1, Plate XV, figure 4, and Archæological Survey of India, Vol. I, Plate XIII, fig. 1.

† Journal of Bengal Asiatic Society, XVII, p. 493.

and ends with *pratishthitam.* In the 15th line occurs the name of the King *Sri Nârâyana Pâla Deva,* and in the last line *Samvatsare saptame,* the seventh year of his reign.

No. 7.—On pedestal of Buddha.—MR. BROADLEY.

BIHAR.

1.—*Sri Mad Vigraha Pâla Deva râjye* * *
Samvat 12 *Mârga, dine* 18
2.—*Deya Dharmmayam* * * *

"In the reign of the fortunate Vigraha Pâla Deva, the 12th year, the 18th day of Mârgga."

No. 8 is the well known Sârnâth inscription, dated Samvat 1083, which was translated by Wilford.* I pointed out to Kittoe the probability that the original stone would be found somewhere about the tank of *Diwân Jagat Sinh* in the city of Banâras, which was constructed entirely of stones removed from Sârnâth. After a short search he found it. The inscription was recorded on the base of a squatted figure of Buddha, which was broken at the waist. Kittoe sent me a tracing of his sketch of the statue, and a copy of the inscription, with transcript in modern Nâgari. This differs very much from Wilford's version, as will be seen in the following translation :—

"Adoration to Buddha. Having worshipped the lotus foot of Sri *Dhama-râsi,* sprung from the lake of *Varânasi,* and having for its moss the hairs of prostrate kings, the fortunate *Mahipâla,* King of *Gauda,* caused to be built in Kâsi hundreds of monuments, such as *Isâna* and *Chitraghanta.*

"The fortunate *Sthira-pâla* and his younger brother, the fortunate *Vasanta-pala,* have renewed religion completely in all its parts, and have raised a tower (*Saila*) with an inner chamber, *garbha-kuti,* and eight large niches, Samvat 1083, the 11th day of Pausha."

The title of *Dhama-râsi,* "heap of light," which is here given to Buddha, is probably connected with the name of *Dhamek,* which is now applied to the great stupa near Sârnâth. *Dhama-nidhi,* or "nest of light," is an appellation of the sun. I think therefore that *Dhama* may probably be the

* See Bengal Asiatic Society's Transactions, IX, 204, where he refers the inscription to the great tower of Dhâmek; whilst in Vol. VIII, 289, he states that it was found at Chokandi, which is just half a mile to the south of the Dhâmek stupa near Sârnâth.

root of the present name of *Dhâmek*. ***Mahipâla*, King of** Gonda, is mentioned in other inscriptions, **but they give** only the year of his reign. In this **valuable record from** Banâras, however, we get the definite **date of Samvat 1083,** or A. D. 1026.

*No. 9.—On base of Buddha the ascetic.**

BUDDHA GAYA.

This inscription is unfortunately **much injured. A very** **poor copy of it, with a drawing of the statue of Buddha, will** be found in Buchanan.† He makes four lines of the inscription, but it really consists of only three lines, of which the first is very much broken. In the first line the words *mâta-pitri* show that some gift was recorded in the usual form for the benefit of the donor's "father and mother." The second line reads as follows:

> 2.—*Parama bhaṭṭâraka, parama Saugata Sri man Mahipâla Deva pravardhamâna vijaya râje * * dasame Samvatsare * **

"In the 10th year of the prosperous and victorious reign of the paramount king, the eminent Buddhist, the fortunate *Mahipâla Deva*."

The title of *parama saugata*, "the most excellent follower of Saugata or Buddha," shows that King Mahipâla was a devoted Buddhist. This might have been inferred from the tenor of the Sârnâth inscription (No. 8); here it is distinctly announced.

No. 10.—On jamb of entrance door of Bâlâditya's temple.

NALANDA.

This inscription was discovered by Captain Marshall early in 1864 when excavating the great temple of Bâlâditya at Nâlanda, which the Government of India had sanctioned at my recommendation. Captain Marshall thus describes the position of the inscription‡: "the jambs of the inner gateway, which are of stone elaborately carved, exist in good order, and at the foot of one of them is an inscription, from which the accompanying cast has been taken." This cast was "presented to the Asiatic Society" by the Government, but I cannot find any notice of it in the proceedings

* See Plate XLIV, No. 6, for a copy of this inscription.
† Eastern India, Vol. I, Plate X, fig. 6.
‡ Letter No. 748, dated 19th April 1864.

of the Society. The inscription which was afterwards re-discovered by Mr. Broadley consists of 10 short lines beginning with—

1.—*Sri Man Mahipála De*
2.—*va rájye Samvat* 11.

"In the 11th year of the reign of the fortunate Mahipâla Deva."

No. 11.—*On base of colossal statue of Buddha.*

TITARAWA.

This inscription consists of three lines of very small letters, which are too much injured to be read easily. The last word in the legible portion of the third line is the name of *Mahipála.*

No. 12.—*On a slab in wall of Krishnadwarika temple.*

GAYA.

This inscription consists of 18 long lines of well-cut Kutila characters. It opens with the invocation—

Aum namo Bhagavate Vasu devaya, and ends with *kirtti.* Near the end of the last line is found the raja's name, *Sri Naya Pála Deva*, and the year of his reign, *dasapanche Samvatsare*, the 15th year. This inscription, with the exception of a few slight injuries in the middle, is in excellent preservation, and is a fine specimen of sculptured lettering. As it is not mentioned by Buchanan in his account of the temple of Krishnadwârika, it was most probably discovered after his time; but under any circumstances it has no connexion with the temple to which it is now attached.

No. 13.—*On bas-relief of the Das Avatara.*

RAM GAYA.

This is a short record of two lines beginning with—

Samvat 8 : *Sri Mahendra Pála Rájye.*

"In the year 8, of the reign of the fortunate Mahendra Pâla."

No. 14.—*On throne of figure of Buddha.*—KITTOE.

GUNARIYA.*

After the Buddhist formula, there is a short inscription of five lines—

Sam 19, *Vaisákha*
Sudi 5, *Sri Guna-Charita Sri Mahendra Pála*
Deva ráje Deva dhaimmajam * * * * *

"In the prosperous Gunacharita."

"In the year 19, the 5th of the waxing moon of Vaisâkh, in the reign of the fortunate Mahendra Pâla Deva, the pious gift of."

Kittoe mentions a second inscription of this king, also dated in his 19th year.†

No. 15.—*On pedestal of standing female statue.*—MR. BROADLEY.

BIHAR.

This inscription in two lines records a gift in the usual form for the benefit of the donor's father and mother. In the middle of the lower line, after a break, I find the raja's name and the date.

* * *raje Sri Ráma Pála Deva, Samvat* 2
Vaisâkha, dine 28.

"In the year 2, the 28th day of Vaisâkh, in the reign of the fortunate *Râma Pâla Deva.*"

No. 16.—*On base of image of Shashti.*—MR. BROADLEY.

BIHAR HILL.

This inscription is unfortunately incomplete, but the following portions are distinct:—

1.—* * * *Sri Man Madana Pâ* (*la*) *Deva.*
2.—(*vi*) *jayaraje* * * *Sam* 3, *Vaisâkha dine* 24.

"In the year 3, the 24th day of Vaisâkh, of the victorious reign of the fortunate Madana Pâla Deva."

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* Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, XVI, p. 278, and Plate V, top figure.
† Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, 1848, p. 234.

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No. 17.—*Pedestal of Buddhist statue.*

JAYNAGAR, NEAR LAKHI SARAI.

This inscription consists of four lines, of which the first three are given in the usual formula of these gifts, but the last line contains the king's name and date.

4.—*Sri Man Madana Pála Deva rájye. Samvat* 19, *Aswina* 30.

"In the reign of the fortunate Madana Pâla Deva, in the year 19, the 30th of Aswin."

No. 18.—*Over four-armed female statue.*

TEMPLE OF GADADHAR GAYA.

This inscription consists of 14 horizontal lines and one perpendicular line to the left. It begins with the invocation *Swasti namo Bhagavate Vasudevaya.* Buchanan gives the following account of this record, which is particularly valuable for the minute precision of its date.*

"The inscription is dated Samvat 1232 (A. D. 1175), in the 14th year of Sri Govinda Pâla Deva. It would appear from this inscription that Vidyadhara, the grandson of Ullan, came to Gaya, gave daily 16 *kahans* of cowries to the *dwijas* (Brahmans), took to witness fifty worshippers of Vishnu, especially Nrisinha, Sridhara, and Devadhara," &c. In this brief account Buchanan has omitted to notice the peculiarity of recording the year of the Vrihaspati cycle of 60 years, which gives such precision to the date. In the original the date is thus given :—

Samvat 1232, *Vikári Samvatsare, Sri Govinda Pála Deva gata rájye chuturddasa Samvatsare Gayayam.*

"In the Samvat year 1232, the year *Vikári*, 14 years of the reign of the fortunate Govinda Pâla Deva having elapsed in Gaya." The year 1232 of the Vikramaditya Samvat is equivalent to A. D. 1175, which corresponds with *Vikári*, the 33rd year of the Vrihaspati cycle in Northern India. As 14 years of the reign of Govinda had then elapsed (*gata*), his accession must have taken place in A. D. 1161.

* Eastern India, Vol. I, p. 61.

No. 19.—*On a slab in temple of Sûrya.*

GAYA.

This is one of the most important inscriptions that has rewarded our researches for many years past. I found it built into the wall inside the temple of Sûrya, and completely covered with whitewash. The inscription consists of 25 lines of closely packed characters of somewhat peculiar shape. It is in almost perfect order, and is the only record yet found which is dated in the Buddhist era of the Nirvân. The inscription opens with an emphatic Buddhist invocation,*

Aum namo Buddhaya Suddhaya, namo Dharmmaya Sarmano, namah Sanghaya Sinhaya Lakshanaya, &c.

and ends with—

Bhagavati parinirvritte Samvat 1819, *Kârttika badi* 1, *Budhe*

"In the year of Bhagavata's Nirvan 1819, on Wednesday, the 1st day of the waxing moon of Kârttik."

The date here given has been kindly calculated for me by my friend Bâpu Deva, the well known astronomer, who finds that it corresponds with Wednesday, the 7th October 1341, N. S.; and thus fixes the Nirvân of Buddha in B. C. 478. Perhaps when the inscription has been translated we may find some indications that may enable us to fix the date with absolute certainty. Several names occur in the inscription, but I have failed to find any royal and known name to give a clue to its date.

No. 20.—*On a slab of the Mahant's gateway.*

BUDDHA GAYA.

This is another Buddhist inscription of 20 long lines, opening with the invocation *Namo Buddhaya*—"adoration to Buddha." Brahman malignancy has sadly mutilated this inscription by boring two large round holes in the midst of the letters to serve as a socket for the lower pivot of one-half of the gate to work in. In the first line mention is made of some one of the Rathor race—*Sri Râshtrakutânwaya;* but the name is indistinct. I can find neither date nor raja's name; but as the inscription is in tolerable order,

* Plate XXXV.

1341.

although not complete, it is quite possible that it may yield some useful information when translated.

No. 21.—In courtyard of Vishnu-pad temple.

GAYA.

This is an unimportant inscription of six short lines, dated in *Samvat* 1135, or A. D. 1078. The letters are very roughly cut, and not very legible.

No. 22.—On slab in wall of Parpita temple.

GAYA.

With this inscription we reach the Muhammadan times. It consists of six long lines, beginning with *Aum Siddhi rasta, Vikramâditya nripate, Samvat* 1257, *Jyeshta badi* 15 *Guro.* The third figure of the date is somewhat doubtful. It might perhaps be read as a seven or as a nine; but is not unlike a five; it is certainly not a six nor an eight. By taking it as a five, the Samvat date of 1257 is equivalent to A. D. 1200, which agrees with the reign of Muaz-ud-din bin Sâm, whose name occurs in the second line "*Sri Suratân Mojdine râjye.* The date of Samvat 1277, or A. D. 1220, was the middle of the reign of Iltitmish, but Samvat 1297, or A. D. 1240, corresponds with the reign of Muaz-ud-din Bahrâm, who was killed in A. D. 1241. I prefer this last date, but I cannot say that I am quite satisfied with it. The remainder of the inscription contains a number of private names connected with Gaya.

No. 23.—On slab north-west of Vishnu-pad.

GAYA.

This inscription of 12 lines is very roughly cut, but the greater part of it is distinctly legible. It opens with the words—

Samvat 1325, *Phâlguna Sudi* 1 *Ravo*

"In the Samvat year 1325 (or A. D. 1268), on Sunday, the first of the waxing moon of Phâlgun." In the 8th and 11th lines the name of Vana Raja Deva is found, but he would appear to be a private person. In the 9th line, however, the words—

tatparena Turushka râjena Birabunena

The *Turushka Raja* BIRABUNA most probably indicate the Turki Emperor of Delhi, *Balban*, as we call him, but

it is possible that his true name was *Bilbun*, which would agree with the *Birbun* of this inscription.

No. 24.—On the Buddha-pad.

BUDDHA GAYA.

This inscription is very indistinct, but it occupies so important a position on the east face of the Buddha-pad itself, that it is necessary to bring it to prominent notice. Luckily the date of *Sake* 1230, or A. D. 1308, is very distinct.

No. 25.—In the courtyard of Vishnu-pad.

GAYA.

This is a very rough record of only eight short lines, which I read as follows:—

Samvat 1429 *Pausha Sudi* 12
* * *dine lona rájátmaja*
*Yuja pála Gayákritam**
* * * * * * *

The date Samvat 1429, or A. D. 1372, corresponds with the reign of Firuz Tughlak of Delhi, and of Sikandar of Bengal.

No. 26.—Inside the sanctum of temple of Súrya.

GAYA.

This inscription was only discovered after a very minute scrutiny of the obscure sanctum with a light during my last visit. It contains 10 long lines of small letters, and is generally in good preservation. It opens with the invocation *Ganappataye namah*, "adoration to Ganapati;" but in the middle of the 1st line I find *Surydya namah*, "adoration to Suryâ," from which I infer that this inscription is most probably in the original position where it was placed at the restoration or rebuilding of the Sun temple. The record is dated in the year 1429 of Vikramâditya, during the reign of *Dilipati Piayroj Sâhe*, "Firuz Shah, lord of Delhi" (line 2). The king's name is repeated in line 7, with the addition of the title of Sultan, *Suratân Sri Piyaroj Sâh râjye*. This is followed by the name of the district *Sri mad Udandapura dese*, and apparently also the name of the governor of Gaya, *Gayâdhikara*. The name of *Udandapura* is preserved by Târânâth under the form of *Otantapura*. Speaking of the first inroads of the Musalmans into Magadha, he

says—"the Turushkas conquered the kingdom of Magadha, exterminated the priests, and the famous monasteries of *Otantapura* and *Vikramasila*."* In a second place *Otantapura* is said to be not far from Nâlanda. I think it probable that *Udandapura* may be the present *Tandwa*, called also *Bishenpura Tandwa*, where considerable Buddhist remains still exist.

No. 27.—Slab in courtyard of Gadadhar temple.

GAYA.

This inscription of 27 lines is much injured in the upper half, but the lower half is in tolerable preservation. It is dated in Samvat 1476, or A. D. 1420, and ends with the word *Sambhavatu*. It is written in 24 numbered *slokas*, which will give some assistance to the decipherer.

No. 28.—On right jamb of temple of Gayâsuri Devi.

GAYA.

This long inscription of 33 horizontal and 3 perpendicular lines is dated in Samvat 1516, or A. D. 1459. It opens with *Sri Ganesaya namah*, and ends with *Sri Gadâdhara charanatyam*. It consists of 15 *slokas* with several lines of prose at the end, and is generally in good preservation. The following translation was made with the assistance of a student of the Sanskrit College at Banâras :—

1.—"Prosperity ! Salutation to Ganesa ! May the lotus-like feet of the blessed Krishna, as also those of Siva, and the holy deity Adi-Gadâdhara, Phalgiswara, and Chandikâ, and other deities, Vradhna, Indra, and Vahni, &c., who dwell in the Dharmasilâ, and who grant our desires, protect the king SURYA, together with his wife and son.

2.—"How can this severe penance be compatible with this woman of smiling face ? (Thus will people meditate on my character). But though the good will think both possible with me, bad men are sure to think evil. Thus thinking, Siva tried to suppress his love within, which, notwithstanding, overflowed in the form of the eye of his forehead. May this same love give you prosperity.

3.—"Then flourished a king, SINDHU RAJA, pure his fame, and lustrously beautiful his body. A hero he was in

* Le Buddhisme, &c., par M. Vassilief, traduit du Russe, par M. La Comme, p. 55, note.

dreadful fights; he was most steady; he was the great king of the whole earth, the moon among the Kshatriya stars, severe to all his enemies, and glorious with all knowledge.

4.—"Of him was born a son named DAMI, beautiful like the moon, possessed of charming spots, respected by the good, and himself well disposed. He attacked his mightiest enemies, he was a conflagration burning the forest of the *sakas*, and a sun dispelling the darkness of calamity.

5.—"Of him was born a son named SANDEVARA, who was versed in polity, and who performed a great many sacrifices. His son was DAMI, who was liberal, who granted the needy their desires, and performed many virtuous acts.

6.—"His son was the auspicious MAHIPALA, who had subjected a multitude of kings to his slavery, who was chief amongst virtuous men, who was a second sun dwelling upon the earth, who made the heavenly trees (which yield whatever may be desired) contemptible by his donations, who was an abode of many surprising good qualities, and who was most powerful.

7.—"His son was DEVIDASA, of immeasurable greatness, who was respected by saints, who was the protector of all learned men, and the abode of all good qualities. He was a worshipper of Siva. His extensive fame vied with the beams of the white-lustred moon, and he was a source of delight to the eyes of men, as the moon is to the ocean.

8.—"His son was the auspicious SURYADASA, who was named first in reckoning virtuous personages. He was a Kshatriya, respected by all, and was the head of sovereigns. He was a worshipper of Siva, and caused large ponds to be dug in waterless soils. He was a performer of wonderful actions, and a destroyer of the troops of his mighty enemy in battle.

9.—"Some sovereigns deposit gold in the earth, some waste it in gaming, or spend it on prostitutes, mimics, and buffoons. But the wise *Sûrya*, the son of Thakkur Devidâsa, was engaged in the liberation of Gaya, in the cultivation of sacred gardens, and in the donation of the sixteen truly great gifts.

10.—"The nymphs of the celestial cities, plucking with uplifted hands the flowers of the heavenly trees, loudly sing with emulative onset his pure fame.

11.—"His son, the wise *Saktisinha*, seeing the ocean dried up by the heat of the dread burning power, made

them again beautiful with dancing waves, which met their shores with the tears of his enemies' wives killed in battle.

12.—"His grandson *Madana* flourishes, who surpassed *Kama* in beauty, and who, like the vernal moon, is the source of universal delight.

13.—"There have flourished many sovereigns on earth, such as the divine Râma and others, whose power and glory are celebrated, and whose very name uttered by mouth gives liberation. They came to Gaya, and freed their ancestors by the performance of their funeral ceremonies here *(sradhas)*; but it was the auspicious Sûrya who with facility freed her (Gaya), the bestower of the fruit of freedom.

14.—"In the year 1516, the sun having entered Aries, in the month of Chaitra, the fifth day of the bright fortnight, on Thursday, the moon having entered Taurus, the virtuous King *Sûryadâsa* gave a golden ox and one thousand and ten kine to Brahmans before Gadâdhara.

15.—"May the she-swan of the fame of King Sûryadâsa, whose reputation extends to *Lokalòka,* sport in the ponds of virtuous minds in this world as long as the world-purifying Gangâ flourishes upon the earth, and as long as Siva wears the moon crescent on his head.

16.—"In the year 1516, in the month of Chaitra, the fifth day of the bright fortnight, on Thursday, the auspicious Chaudhari *Sûryadâsa,* the son of Chaudhari *Devidâsa,* the ornament of the Kshatriya tribe, boon of *Bijjasara* race, made a pilgrimage to *Prayaga, Kasi,* and *Gaya,* together with his family. He gave a thousand kine to Brahmans near Gadâdhara, and made Gaya free for three years. May the auspicious Sûryadâsa live for a period of one thousand years, together with his brother, the auspicious *Sihamala,* his son *Saktisinha,* and his grandson *Madana.* Happiness.

"This eulogy has been written by *Durgadasa,* the son of *Tripathi-dhana,* sprung from the stock of Kausika and from the race of *Ghrita-bida.* He made a pilgrimage to Gayâ. May the witnesses be here the deities Gadâdhara, &c., and Tâdâukitas. He made the liberation of his deceased ancestors—*Chaube Bhiku, Misra Chamaru, Tivadi Rai-dasa.* Blessings on the writer and the reader, *Bivara Sinha-dasa.* Written by *Tarana.* Salutation to the feet of the holy Gadâdhara."

The writer of this fulsome panegyric has omitted to state the name of the country over which his patron Sûryadâsa

ruled. Apparently, the chief was not quite satisfied with the poetical account of his pilgrimage, for the pith of the story is told in the prose postscript. The expression "freed Gaya for three years" seems rather obscure. I conjecture that it may mean the remission of all pilgrim taxes for three years on the payment of a certain sum by Sûryadâsa. But when the "she-swan" of Indian poetry sports in the muddy pond of a Brahman's mind, it is difficult to extract any real information from such an inflated windbag of conceits. The genealogy recorded in the inscription might have been really useful if any clue had been given as to the country of the royal pilgrim. The names and probable dates of this family are as follow:—

Bijjasara Kshatriyas.

	At 30 years.		At 25 years.
Sindhu Raja	1270	or	1300 A. D.
Dâmi I	1300	„	1325
Sandevara	1330	„	1350
Dâmi II	1360	„	1375
Mahipâla	1390	„	1400
Devidâsa	1420	„	1425
Sûryadâsa	1450	„	1450

Date of inscription Samvat 1516 = A. D. 1459.

Allowing 25 years to each generation, the date of Sindhu Raja will fall between 1300 and 1325 A. D. It is quite possible therefore that he may be the same chief as *Sai Raja* of the Chunar inscription, whose date is Samvat 1390, or A. D. 1333. The locality would suit very well for the starting point of a pilgrimage to Prayâga, Kâsi, and Gaya.

No. 29.—Slab in courtyard of Vishnu-pad temple.

GAYA.

The slab on which this record is cut is placed as a beam with the inscribed face downwards, and was discovered when copying another inscription placed in a niche beneath it. It contains eight long lines of modern looking characters, beginning with an invocation to Ganapati. There are five slokas, followed by the date *Samvat* 1484, or A. D. 1427. I read the name of a *dwijarajaswaromani.*

No. 30.—Slab at Akshay-bat temple.

GAYA.

This long inscription of 26 lines is injured in the middle and several other places, and the right lower corner, about

8 inches broad, is broken off altogether, but it is otherwise in fair preservation. It opens with an invocation to Siva *Namah Sivaya.* The date has been lost with the broken corner piece, the 24th line now ending with *Samvatsa* (ra)**

No. 31.—*Pillar in courtyard of Vishnu-pad temple.*

GAYA.

There are 31 lines, each 11 inches in length, in this inscription, but unfortunately I have failed to find a date in it. A raja is mentioned in the second line—*Swasti Pratâpa Rudranye Râjarâja Siromani;* but I can find nothing that offers any clue to the date.

On comparing the names and dates derived from these inscriptions with the lists of kings preserved by Târânâth and Abul Fazl, several differences will be found which cannot at present be reconciled. But on the whole the genealogies given in the books agree much better with those of the inscriptions than could have been expected from our experience of other genealogies. The following table gives the lists of all these authorities side by side:—

PALA DYNASTY OF MAGADHA.

	Dinajpur Copper plate.	Mongir Copper plate.	Târânath, in Vassilief.	Abul Fazl.
1	Loka Pâla.	Gopâla.	Gopâla.	Bhupâla.
2	Dharma Pâla I.	Dharma Pâla.	Deva Pâla.	Dhirpâla.
3	(illegible.)	Deva Pala..	Raso Pâla.	Deva Pâla.
4	Jaya Pâla.	*Buddal Pillar.*	Dharma Pâla.	Bhupati Pâla.
5	Deva Pâla II.	Deva Pâla.	Masurakshita.	Dhanpat Pâla.
6	(illegible.)	Sura Pâla.	Vana Pâla.	Bijjen Pâla.
7	Nârâyana Pâla.	Narayana Pala.	Mahi Pâla.	Jaya Pâla.
8	Raja Pâla.	......	Maha Pâla.	Raja Pâla.
9	** Pâla Deva.	......	Shamu Pâla.	Bhoj Pâla.
10	Vigraha Pâla I.	*Sarnath Inscrn.*	Sresta Pâla.	Jagad Pâla.
11	Mahi Pâla.	Mahi Pâla.	Chanaka Pâla.	
12	Naya Pâla.		Beira Pâla.	
13	Vigraha Pâla II.		Neia Pâla.	
			Amara Pâla.	
			Hasti Pâla.	
			Kshanti Pala.	
			Rama Pâla Deva.	
			Yaksha Pâla.	

Taking the Dinajpur genealogy as the most complete, and adding to it the name of Deva Pâla from the Mongir plate, and that of Sura Pâla from the Buddâl pillar, we get, with only one missing link, an uninterrupted list of 13 successive names. Six of these names are found in some of the other inscriptions, of which I have just given a brief notice. Five of them are found in the list of Târânâth, and four of them under somewhat different forms in the list of Abul Fazl.

From all these sources I have compiled the following list of the

PALA DYNASTY OF MAGADHA.

	Probable accession A. D.	NAMES.	Inscriptions.
1	765	Gopala.	No. 4, Nâlanda, S. 1.
2	790	Dharma Pâla.	
3	815	Deva Pâla I.	No. 1, Mongir plate, S. 33.
4	840	Jaya Pâla.	
5	865	Deva Pâla II.	No. 5, Ghosrâwa.
6	890	Sura Päla.	
7	915	Narayana Pâla.	No. 6, Gaya, S. 7, No. Buddal pillar.
8	940	Raja Pâla.	
9	965	* * Pâla Deva.	
10	990	Vigraha Pâla I.	No. 7, Bihar, S. 12.
11	1015	Mahi Pâla.	No. 8, Sârnâth, S. 1083=1026 A.D., No. 9 S 10
12	1040	Naya Pâla.	No. 12, Gayâ, S. 15.
13	1065	Vigraha Pâla II.	No. 3, Dinajpur, S. 12 of Naya Pal's reign.
		* * *	
	1100	Mahendra Pâla Deva.	No. 13, Ram Gaya S. 8, No, 14 Kittoe S. 19.
	1125	Rama Pâla Deva.	No. 15, Bihâr, S. 2.
	1140	Madana Pâla Deva.	No. 16, Bihar, S. 3. No. 17 Jaynagar S. 19.
	1161	Govinda Pâla Deva.	No. 18, S =1232, A. D. 1175, 15th year of reign.
		* * *	
	1180	Indradyumna.	Reigning in A. D. 1200.

According to Târânâth, the Râja of Orissa was tributary to Mahipâla, and as he certainly held Banâras his dominions were very extensive. But the Pâla dynasty did not retain their power beyond the end of the 11th century, when the whole of the eastern provinces were raised into a separate principality by the founder of the Seva family. Abul Fazl assigns 160 years to the Senas, but the lengths of the reigns added together amount only to 106 years, which deducted from A. D. 1200, will place the defection of Bengal and the

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rise of the Sena dynasty in A. D. 1094. The Pâla family however still continued to reign in Magadha, as we see from the inscriptions Nos. 13 to 17, of which the last is dated in A. D. 1175. Tradition gives the name of the last king, *Inderdaun*, or Indradyumna, who held out the fort of Jaynagar, on the Kiyul river, against the Muhammadans.

Assigning 25 years to a generation, and working backwards from Mahipâla, the accession of Gopâla, the founder of the dynasty, will fall in the latter half of the 8th century, or still earlier, if we allow 30 years to each generation. By either reckoning, the rise of the Pâla dynasty of Magadha is fixed to the 8th century A. D., at which time great changes would appear to have taken place amongst most of the ruling families of Northern India.

Of the earlier rulers who preceded the Pâla family, we have only a few meagre hints, which I will here bring together for future reference.

The oldest records that we possess are those of the Varmma inscriptions in the Barâbar and Nâgârjuni caves of Magadha.* These give the names of three successive kings, Yajnya Varmma, Sârdula Varmma, and Ananta Varmma, who, from the style of their alphabetical characters, must have reigned before A. D. 500, and who probably succeeded the Guptas in A. D. 319. Their sway would therefore have extended from 319 to 400 A. D. From Hwen Thsang we learn that the king of Magadha, about A. D. 600, was *Purna Varmma*, whom he calls the last of the family of Asoka. But there are two notices of a rather later date of a powerful king, named *Yaso Varmma*, whom I believe to have been the paramount sovereign of the Gangetic provinces. In A. D. 731 the ruler of Central India is named *I-sha-fu-mo* by the Chinese, which I take to be intended for *Yaso Varmma*.† At the very same time, also, we have mention of a *Yaso Varmma*, who was the king of Kanauj, contemporary with Lalitâditya of Kashmir, who reigned from 723 to 760 A. D. The reign of *Yaso Varmma* may therefore be fixed in A. D. 720 to 740. A remembrance of his sovereignty is found in the Ghosráwa inscription,‡ in the mention of *Yaso Varmma-pura*, which I think

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* Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, VII, 683.
† M. Pauthier. Journal Asiatique, 1839, p. 411.
‡ No. 5 of the present series.

was the town of Bihâr. From the Chinese we learn further that the king of Central India in A. D. 692 was named *Ti-mo-si-no,* and the king of Eastern India, ***Mo-lo-pa-mo,*** or *Mala Varmma.** At a later period, shortly after the time of Yaso Varmma, we find that the king of *Gauḍa,* named *Jayanta,* gave his daughter in marriage to Jayapira of Kashmir, who reigned from A. D. 779 to 813.

In the inscription which Kittoe found at Aphsar we have the record of another family of these earlier times, which must have been a branch or continuation of the great Gupta dynasty. Kittoe places this inscription midway between the Gupta coin and pillar inscriptions and Nârâyana Pâla, that is, between 150 and 950 A. D., or in the middle of the 6th century.† This inscription is now lost, and we have only Kittoe's opinion to guide us as to its date. But in Indian palæography his experience was great and his judgment sound, and I accept his date without hesitation. The style of the writing of this period may be seen in two inscriptions of Kâma Deva, the successor of Aditya Sena Deva, which are carved on the face of the famous Mandâr hill.‡ Both of them open in the same manner—*Parama bhaṭṭâraka Mahârâjadhirâja Sri Aditya Sena Deva.* The same titles are applied to his successor, whose name, however, is not quite certain. It may perhaps be *Kâma Deva.*

This branch of the Gupta family, consisting of nine generations, will almost fill the gap between the downfall of the great Gupta dynasty in 319 and the accession of Harsha Varddhana about A. D. 600. The third in the list, named *Kumâra Gupta,* was engaged in hostilities with King Sânti Varmma; § the fourth, named *Damodara Gupta,* had successfully encountered "at the battle of *Maushari* the fierce army of the western Hunas;" and the fifth, named *Mahasena* Gupta, had too obtained a victory over *Sri Varmma.* Of the sixth prince nothing special is recorded. After him there is a gap in the inscription, and then follow *Hashka Deva* and his son *Aditya Sena,* in whose reign the record was engraved.

In this inscription of the later *Guptas* we see that they were contemporary with another line of kings whose family title was *Varmma,* two of whom are mentioned by name as

* M. Pauthier, Journal Asiatique, 1839, p. 405.
† Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, 1848, p. 497.
‡ Buchanan, Eastern India, Vol. II, Plate 4.
§ Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, 1866, p. 273.

rivals in war. We have no means at present of fixing the countries over which these two contemporary dynasties ruled, but there is evidence sufficient to show that the territory of the *Varmmas* was in Western Magadha, and that of the Guptas in Eastern Magadha. Their frontiers, however, must have been continually advancing or receding with the changes of war; and it would not be safe, in the present meagre state of our information, to attempt any more precise definition of the territories over which they ruled. In the following lists of these two royal families all the names are brought together for easy reference. The dates of course are only approximate; but I may note that the date thus assigned to Dâmodara Gupta, 420 to 450 A. D., agrees so well with the period of the settlement of the Little *Yuechi* in Peshâwar, that his successful encounter with the Hunas at the battle of Maushari may, I think, be accepted as a part of the general opposition offered by the Indian princes to the inroads of the white Huns in the 5th and 6th centuries.

WESTERN MAGADHA.		EASTERN MAGADHA.	
Probable date.	Names.	Probable date.	Names.
A. D.		A. D.	
319	Yajnya Varmma.	330	Hashka Gupta Deva.
340	Sârdula Varmma.	360	Jivita Gupta.
370	Ananta Varmma.	390	Kumâra Gupta.
400	Sânti Varmma.	420	Dâmodara Gupta.
	——	450	Mahasena.
460	Sri Varmma.	480	Mâdhava Gupta.
		510	Hashka Deva.
		540	Aditya Seva.
		570	Karna Deva.
590	Purna Varmma.	590	Sasângka.
720	Yaso Varmma.		
	——		
780	Jayanta.		

There are gold coins of three of these princes which confirm, by the 'alphabetic characters' of their inscriptions, the dates here assigned to them. The oldest of these is *Kumâra Gupta,* a large number of whose coins are now in the British and Indian Museums. I possess two specimens, and one has been engraved by Wilson.* A glance

* Ariana Antiqua, Plate XVIII, fig. 23.

at the last will show that it is of much later date than the coins of Kumâra Gupta Mahendra, the son of Chandra Gupta II, and father of Skanda Gupta. I would therefore refer the coins to Kumâra Gupta II of the present list of later Guptas. Several coins of *Sasângka* have also been found in Jessore, which I have been able to assign from a very fine specimen belonging to the Payne Knight collection in the British Museum, on which the name is given at full length—*Sri Sasângka.** The coins of Yaso Varmma are well known, one having been found in the Mânikyâla Tope by General Ventura.†

I have strong hopes that during the ensuing cold season we shall be able to collect more ample materials for the illustration of this dark period of Indian history between the fall of the great Gupta dynasty in A. D. 319 and the Muhammadan conquest in A. D. 1200. When this is achieved, we shall then have a fair outline of the history of Magadha from the time of Buddha down to our own days. Many portions will no doubt be little more than bare skeletons; but I think it probable that we shall be able to add very considerably to our knowledge of the two contemporary dynasties of the Varmmas and later Guptas, as well as of their successors, the Buddhist Pâlas. According to my view, the following outline gives a near approximation to the actual history of Magadha for a period of seventeen centuries, from the time of Buddha to the Muhammadan conquest.

Saisunâga Dynasty.

B. C. 500 Bimbisâra or Srenika, contemporary of Buddha.
484 Accession of Ajâta Satru.
478 Nirvân of Buddha.

Maurya Dynasty,—137 *years.*

315 Chandra Gupta.
291 Bindusâra.
263 Asoka, or Priyadarsi.
&c. &c.

Sunga Dynasty,—112 *years.*

178 Pushpamitra.
Agnimitra.
&c. &c.

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* See Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, 1852, Plate XII, fig. 12, for a rude sketch of one of these coins. I got one at Gayâ, and two others by exchange with the Asiatic Society.

† Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, III, Plate XXI, fig. 9.

Brahman Dynasty,—145 *years.*

66 Sankarâditya.
37 Buddha Gupta.
B. C.— 8 Tathâgata Gupta.
A. D.—21 Bâlâditya.
50 Vajra.

Gupta Dynasty,—240 *years.*

Sri Gupta, in North-Western India.
Ghatot Kacha ditto.
79 Chandra Gupta I.
107 Samudra Gupta.
152 Chandra Gupta II.
185 Kumâra Gupta.
210 Skanda Gupta.
228 ....
240 Buddha Gupta.
260 ....
280 Vishnu Gupta.
&c. &c.

Later Guptas and Varmmas.

319 Hashka Gupta, Yajnya Varmma.

Pâla Dynasty.

850 Gopâla.
1096 Defection of Bengal under the Sena Dynasty.
1200 Muhammadan conquest.

We are gradually adding to our scant store of knowledge of these early and obscure periods of the history of Eastern India; but I expect that a much clearer light will be thrown upon several portions of it when all the inscriptions have been translated and carefully compared.

YASHTI-VANA OR JETHIAN.

On his way from the *Bodhi-drûm,* or holy pippal tree of Buddha Gaya, towards Râjagriha, Hwen Thsang visited the forest of *Yashti-vana,* which he places at about 30 *li,* or 5 miles, to the east of *Buddhavana,** which I have already identified with the *Budhain* mountain, one of the stations of the Indian survey, 28 miles to the north-east of Buddha Gayâ and 8 miles to the south-west of Râjagriha.† *Yashti* means simply a "stick or staff," but the pilgrim explains

* Julien's Hwen Thsang, III, 10.
† See Plate XXXIX for the position of Budhain in the map of Magadha.

that the forest consisted of bambus, which covered the mountain and extended over the whole valley. He mentions also that there were two hot-springs at 10 *li*, or less than 2 miles, to the south-west of *Yashti-vana*. Now these hot-springs still exist at a place called *Tapoban*, or simply *Tapo*, one mile and three quarters from the village of Jethian, and upwards of 6 miles from the *Budhain* or *Buddha-vana* mountain. Bambus still grow on both sides of this hill, and are cut down annually and taken to Gaya for sale. Buchanan mentions the *Jharna* Ghât, leading from the west into the valley, as well as the hot-springs of Tapoban,* but he says nothing of the hamlet of Jethian, nor of the bambu forest which is known all over the country as *Jakhtiban*. In 1862, when I was at Râjgir, I heard the bambu forest always spoken of as *Jakhtiban*, and when I surveyed old Râjagriha, or *Kusâgârapura*, I fixed the position of the bambu forest to the south-west of Râjgir on the hill lying between the hot-springs of Tapoban and old Râjagriha. I could hear nothing of the stupa said to have been built by Asoka in the midst of the bambu forest, nor of the cave in the northern face of the Buddhavana mountain. There are several holes or recesses on Budhain, but no cavern, either natural or artificial. This may have fallen in, but the stupa should still be in existence, as it is quite impossible that its materials would have been removed from such a situation. I think therefore that it may still be found.

OLD RAJAGRIHA OR KUSAGARAPURA.

In January 1872, I again visited this famous capital of the Saisunâga Rajas of Magadha. On this occasion I approached the hill-girt city from the north-east, with a determination of settling the question as to the identity of the *Son-bhândâr* cave with the *Sattapani* cave of the Buddhists, in which the first synod was held three months after Buddha's death. The Son-bhândâr cave was the only one known to exist in Mount Baibhâr, and Mr. Beal had objected to its identification with the Sattapani cave of the Mahawanso, on the ground that this famous cave is described by Fa Hian as being "in the northern shade of the mountain," whereas the Son-bhândâr is on the southern face. Now the Baibhâr mountain does not lie east and west like

* Eastern India, I, 253.

Mount Vipula, but as nearly as possible north-east and south-west; and the north-east half of it might therefore be called either the "north end" or the "east end."* With my own survey of the hill-girt city (Giri-vraja) lying before me, I saw that the Son-bhândâr cave was actually situated in the northern half, or end, of the mountain, and therefore that it truly answered to the description of its position given by the Chinese pilgrims. But to make the identification absolutely certain, it seemed to me necessary to find the second cave which is mentioned by them both.

The elder pilgrim, Fa Hian, describes the position of this cave in the following terms—"Skirting the southern hill, and proceeding westward 300 paces, there is a stone cell, called the *Pin-po-lo* cave, where Buddha was accustomed to sit in deep meditation after his midday meal.† Going still in a westerly direction 5 or 6 *li* there is a stone cave situated in the northern shade of the mountain and called *Che-ti.* This is the place where 500 Rahats assembled after the Nirvâna of Buddha to arrange the collection of sacred books." Hwen Thsang's account agrees substantially with the description of Fa Hian,‡ but he adds some particulars which give most valuable assistance in identifying the first cave. His words are—"To the west of the hot-springs stands the stone house of *Pi-po-lo,* in which Buddha formerly lived. The deep cave which opens behind its wall was the palace of the Asuras. Numbers of Bhikhshus, who gave themselves to meditation, formerly dwelt in this house."

Two points in this description led me to the discovery of the cave I was in search of, which was quite unknown to the people. Close to the hot-springs, on the north-east slope of the Baibhâr hill, there is a massive foundation of a stone house, 85 feet square, called *Jarasandh-ki-baithak* or "Jarâsandhas' throne." Now as Jarasandha was an Asura, it struck me that the cave should be looked for in the immediate vicinity of the stone foundation. I proceeded from the bed of the stream straight to the *baithak,* a distance of 289 paces, which agrees with the 300 paces noted by Fa Hian.§ Seated on the *baithak* itself, I looked around, but could see no trace of any cave; and neither the officiating Brahmans at the hot-

* The axis of Mount Vipula is 85° E., while that of Mount Baibhâr is only 52° E.
† Beal's Fa Hian, C. XXX, p. 117.
‡ Julien's Hwen Thsang, III, 24.
§ See Plate XI. for a map of old Râjagriha.

springs, nor the people of the village, had ever heard of one. After a short time my eye caught a large mass of green immediately *behind* the stone basement. On pushing aside some of the branches with a stick, I found that they belonged to trees growing in a hole, and not to mere surface brushwood: I then set men to cut down the trees and clear out the hollow. A flight of steps was first uncovered, then a portion of the roof, which was still unbroken, and before the evening we had partially cleared out a large cave, 40 feet in length by 30 feet in width.* This, then, was the ***Pippal*** cave, or *Vaibhara* cave, of the Chinese pilgrims, in which Buddha had actually dwelt and taken his meals. This identification is fully confirmed by the relative position of the other cave called *Son-bhândâr*, which corresponds exactly with the account given by Fa Hian. In a direct line the distance between the two caves is only 3,000 feet, but to go from one to the other it is necessary to descend the hill again to the bed of the stream, and then to ascend the stream to the Son-bhândâr cave, which increases the distance to about 4,500 feet, or rather more than 5 *li*. The *Son-bhândâr* cave was therefore beyond all doubt the famous *Sattapani* cave of the Buddhists, in which the first synod was held in 478 B. C., three months after the death of Buddha.

In the accompanying plate I have given a plan and view of the *Baithak* or throne of Jarâsandha, as well as a plan and section of the Baibhâr or Asura's cave. The identification of these two places has an important bearing on the history of Indian architecture. The cave itself is a rough excavation, which has been subsequently lined with a brick wall in the lower portion. But as the cave was undoubtedly the quarry from whence the stones for the *Baithak* of Jarâsandha were derived, it follows that the *Baithak* itself must be as old as the cave; that is, certainly coeval with Buddha in B. C. 500, and perhaps even older. Here, then, we have a specimen of an Indian stone building at least two hundred and fifty years older than Asoka. It is true that the stones are not dressed, but they are fitted together with great care and

* See Plate XLI for a plan and section of this cave, showing its position immediately behind the Jarâsandh-ki-baithak, or Asur's house. The clearance of the cave was completed by Mr. Broadley, to whom I communicated its discovery, as well as my identifications of the two caves. These identifications have since been published by Mr. Broadley as his own. His words are—"I can, I think, satisfactorily identify this cave and platform with the account of Fa Hian, and also with that of Hwen Thsang," &c.—Indian Antiquary, March 1872, p. 72.

ingenuity, and the skill of the builder has been proved by the stability of his structure, which is still perfectly sound after the lapse of twenty-three centuries.

It may be urged that this rough stone building offers no proof that the ancient Hindus were acquainted with the art of stone-cutting. To this I reply by pointing to the other cave of Son-bhândâr, which is entirely a chisel-cut chamber with a pointed arched roof, and a square-headed door and window. As this cave was in existence before the death of Buddha, it is of the same age as the other, which is a mere quarry hole, with a ledge of rock left overhead as a roof. I can also point to the stone walls of *Girivraja* itself, which are still standing on the ridges of the surrounding hills. At the southern gate of the city, marked N in the plan, between the two hills Sonagiri and Udayagiri, I found these walls 13 feet thick and in good order. As the city of Girivraja or old Râjagriha was built by Bimbisâra, the contemporary of Buddha, we have another still existing example of Indian stone building at least two hundred and fifty years older than the date of Asoka.

In Plate XLII I have given a view, plan, and section of the *Son-bhândâr* cave, which we can now say with absolute certainty was the famous *Sattapani* cave of the old Buddhists. Close beside it, to the east, there is a second cave about two-thirds of its size, which has now fallen in. On the outside face of *Son-bhândâr* there is a row of socket holes for the insertion of wooden beams; and one socket hole is still left in the outer face of the smaller cave, the rest having disappeared with the fallen rock. These socket holes show that at some former period the caves had been extended towards the front. This fact is of much importance in settling the precise arrangement by which the cave was made to hold an assembly of 500 persons. The following account of the first synod is given in the Ceylonese Chronicles:—"With the assistance of Ajâtasatru, Râja of Magadha, a splendid hall was built for the assembly of the first synod *at the mouth* of the *Sattapani* cave, on the side of the *Webhâra* mountain. Five hundred carpets were spread around for the monks; one throne was prepared for the abbot on the south side, facing the north, and another throne was erected in the middle, facing the east, fit for the holy Buddha himself."*

* Turnour, Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, VII, 516.

Here we see that the assembly was held in a hall, "prepared for the occasion," immediately *in front* of the Sattapanni cave; and the socket holes show that this arrangement was carried out by a flat roof along the whole front of the two caves. The full length of the platform before the caves is 90 feet, but the exact breadth I could not ascertain, as the rock is broken a little beyond 30 feet. Kittoe also made an excavation, and he concluded that there must have been "buildings extending to some distance in front."* I suppose that the hall may have been about 40 feet in breadth, which would give a space of 3,600 square feet for the sitting accommodation of 500 persons, or upwards of 7 square feet to each, which would be amply sufficient for Indian sitters. The ruins of buildings in front of the cave are mentioned by Hwen Thsang,† who looked upon them as the remains of the hall built by Ajâtasatru for the assembly of the first Buddhist synod.

In the Tibetan books the Sattapanni cave is called the "cave of the *Nyagrodha*," or "Banyan tree."‡ *Sattapanni* was also the name of a tree,§ in Sanskrit *Srotaparni*. Fa Hian calls the cave *Cheti*, but gives no translation of the word. Perhaps it was intended for the Sanskrit *Chaitya*, as we learn from Hwen Thsang that there was a stupa on the north-west side of the cave, on the spot where Ananda had received the reproofs of the other disciples of Buddha. It might thus have been called the "*Chaitya* Cave," as well as the *Nyagrodha*, or banyan tree cave. The latter name shows that there must once have been a banyan tree close by, and I conclude therefore that this was the oldest name of the cave by which alone it was known before the Nirvân of Buddha had given it a special reputation.

In the accompanying map of Râjagriha ‖ I have marked the probable position of most of the holy places mentioned by Fa Hian and Hwen Thsang. Several of these have been noticed in a former report,¶ but the certainty of the identification of the two caves renders that of several other places almost equally sure.

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* Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, 1847, p. 958.
† Julien's Hwen Thsang, III, 32.
‡ Csoma de Koros.—Asiatic Researches, XX, p. 91.
§ Turnour, Mahawanso—Index, in voce.
‖ Plate XL.
¶ Indian Antiquary, January 1872, p. 19.

INDRA-SILA-GUHA OR GIRYEK.

The position of *Indra-Sila-guha*, or the "Cave of Indra's Rock," where Indra proposed 42 different questions to Buddha, and which I had identified with Giryek, has been brought back again by Mr. Broadley to Bihâr, the site originally proposed for it by Kittoe. Unfortunately the chief authority relied upon by Mr. Broadley is Fa Hian, whose bearings and distances in this part of his journey are often wrong, and sometimes contradictory. Mr. Broadley's next reliance is on certain assumed distances, and as Deputy Magistrate of Bihâr for two years, he has enjoyed the most favourable opportunity for becoming acquainted with the geography of that district. But I am sorry to say that he does not appear to have the faculty of accurately ascertaining distances even by measurement on a map. Now it is pretty generally known that distances measured on a map are nearly always somewhat *less* than the actual distances by road, and that they cannot by any possibility be made greater than the actual road distances. But this self-evident truism has been boldly set at defiance by the late Deputy Magistrate of Bihâr, who states that the "*actual*" distance from Bihâr to Nâlanda is 5½ or 6 miles, whereas the direct distance measured on the maps of the Indian Atlas is 7 miles, and by the road it is not less than 8 miles. I appeal to the map of 4 miles to one inch, which any one can consult, to show that the *direct* distance is 1¾ inch, or 7 miles. But a length of only one *yojana* is quite useless for the determination of the value of the *yojana*, where the writer never uses a smaller measure than a half *yojana;* for he would be obliged to employ the same term of one *yojana* to two very different lengths, as for instance, to one that was a full mile less than the true value of the *yojana*, and to another that was a full mile greater. It is only by a comparison of *several* long distances that the true value of the *yojana* can be obtained. But it was Mr. Broadley's object to deduce a small value for the *yojana*, so that he might make the distance from Patna to Bihâr agree with Fa Hian's recorded distance of 9 *yojanas* from Patna to the hill where Indra proposed his 42 questions to Buddha. Finding this one process of curtailment insufficient, he was obliged to adopt the double Procrustean method of *lengthening one* measure and *shortening* another. Accordingly he stretches the distance from Patna to Bihâr to 54 miles, or, as he strangely expresses it, "*actual* distance *about* 54 miles,"

which is at least 15 miles in excess of the truth. The direct distance measured on the Indian Atlas map from the middle of the city of Patna to Bihâr is 8½ inches or 34 miles, and the road distance *viâ* Fatuha is 38 miles. Even taking the longer route by the railway station at Bakhtiarpur, due north of Bihar, the distance is only 41 miles. If Bihâr is the place intended, then Fa Hian's distance of 9 *yojanas* is undoubtedly wrong. But if, as I believe, Bihâr is not the place, then Fa Hian's distance *may be* correct. Under any circumstances, however, Mr. Broadley is wrong, and it is difficult to conceive how the Deputy Magistrate of the District could have become possessed of such extremely erroneous ideas as to the distance of Bihâr from the head quarters of his own division at Patna.

Mr. Broadley then goes on to say that he has "no hesitation in identifying the solitary hill (of Fa Hian) with the rocky *peak* of Bihâr." His "reasons for doing so are, *first*, correspondence of the relative distance and position of the Bihâr rock and Patna, and of the solitary hill and Pataliputra; *secondly*, the agreement of the relative positions of the Bihâr rock and Bargaon, and the solitary hill and Nâlanda; *thirdly*, natural appearances of the Bihâr rock."

The first reason has already been disposed of, and to test the other two, it is only necessary to quote the account of *Indra-sila-guha* which is given by the much more accurate pilgrim Hwen Thsang.*

On leaving Nâlanda, Hwen Thsang went 8 or 9 *li* to the south-west to *Keu-li-ka*. He next went 3 or 4 *li* to the east to the stupa of Bimbisâra, from which he made 20 *li* to the south-east to *Kia-lo-pi-na-kia*, then 4 or 5 *li* to the south-east to the stupa of Sâriputra, and from that 30 *li* eastward to *Indra-sila-guha*. Now in all these marches there is no northing whatever, and as Bihâr lies to the north-east of Nâlanda, it is difficult to see how it can be identified with *Indra-sila-guha*. The total distance given is 11 miles, and the general bearing about E.-S.-E. But as the first part of the journey was to the south-west, the actual distance from Nâlanda by the road would not be more than 58 *li*, or 9⅔ miles, which, allowing a little latitude for the vague bearings of S.-E. and E., would place *Indra-sila-guha* as nearly as possible in the position of Giryek. This disposes

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* Julien's Hwen Thsang, III, p. 51.

of the second reason, as the authority of Hwen Thsang, as a minute and accurate describer, is infinitely superior to that of Fa Hian.

Mr. Broadley's third reason is "the natural appearances of the Bihâr rock." Here he has relied partly on Mr. Beal's translation, and partly on his own imagination. The former describes the scene of Indra's 42 questions as "a small rocky hill standing by itself."* In Laidlay's translation this is rendered "the little hill of the isolated rock." In the first the isolation is given to the hill itself, in the second it is confined to the rock. On comparing this account with that of Hwen Thsang, it will be seen that the latter is the more correct description, as he says nothing about the isolation of the mountain, but simply that it possessed *two* detached or separate peaks.† Now this description agrees exactly with the Giryek hill, which has also two detached or separate peaks. Hwen Thsang further says that the hollows and valleys of the mountain are shady, and filled with trees, flowers and bushes. But the long, low, flat-topped hill of Bihâr has no *peak* and no valleys, while in both of these particulars the hill of Giryek corresponds exactly with the description of Hwen Thsang. Mr. Broadley indeed boldly speaks of the "rocky *peak* of Bihâr," but even this imaginary peak will not suit Hwen Thsang's description, which specially mentions *two peaks* quite distinct from each other, as the "southern peak" and the "eastern peak." In the former was the great cave in which Indra had proposed his 42 questions to Buddha; on the latter there was a famous stupa and monastery called *Hansa Sanghârâma*, or the "Wild-goose Monastery." A curious legend is related by Hwen Thsang to account for this name, which I have quoted in a former report.‡

The village of *Giryek* is situated on the eastern or right bank of the Panchâna river, and immediately opposite the eastern end of the two Rajgir ranges of mountains. The southern range is low, but the northern range maintains its height, and ends abruptly in two lofty peaks overhanging the Panchâna river. The lower peak, on the east, bears an oblong terrace covered with the remains of several buildings. The principal ruin would appear to have been a Vihâr or

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* Beal's Translation, p. 110. Laidlay's Translation, p. 264.

† Julien's Hwen Thsang, III, 58—"Sur le passage superieur de cette montagne s'élèvent deux pics *isolés*."

‡ Archæological Survey of India, Vol. I, p. 19.

temple approached by a steep flight of steps leading through pillared rooms, which I take to have formed part of a monastery. Three hundred feet to the E.-N.-E., and a hundred feet lower, stands a brick stupa 28 feet in diameter and 21 feet in height, called *Jarasandh-ka-baithak*, or "Jarasandha's throne."* The monastery and stupa are connected by a steep graved road which was formerly continued down to the foot of the hill opposite the village of Giryek. At all the commanding points and bends of this road are still to be seen the stone foundations of small brick *stupas* from 5 to 6 feet to upwards of 12 feet in diameter.

The western peak, 900 feet to the W.-N.-W. of the monastery, is somewhat higher, and was selected as one of the hill stations of the survey. It is called *Khirkiya*, which appears to be the same name as *Giryek*. But the people were unanimous in making this slight difference of pronunciation, and I wish to preserve it, as it may lead to the true meaning of the word.

In the Ghosrâwa inscription of the 9th century there is an allusion to the *Indrasila* peak, which is a fit simile for the Khirkiya mountain, but is quite inappropriate for the flat-topped hill of Bihâr. Speaking of the buildings which he had erected, the writer says that—"two gems of *chaityas*" were "as beautiful as the *peak* of Mount *Indrasila*."† Now the well known shape of a *chaitya* may very aptly be likened to the peak of a mountain, but cannot possibly be compared to a long flat-topped hill.

Both pilgrims speak of a cave in the southern face of the mountain as the scene of Indra's interrogation of Buddha. Hwen Thsang describes it as "large but low." Now this description corresponds exactly with the well known cave of *Gidha-dwâr*, or the "Vultures' Passage." Gidha-dwâr is situated in the southern face of the mountain, two miles to the south-west of the village of Giryek and one mile from Jarâsandha's throne. It is a natural fissure 98 feet long, running upwards in the direction of Jarâsandha's throne, with which it is said to be connected. The mouth of the cavern is 10 feet broad and 17 feet high, but its height diminishes rapidly towards the end. Vultures still swarm about the cliff, and their feathers are lying in the mouth of the cave. I have

* See Archæological Survey of India, Vol. I, Plate XV, for a view of this stupa.
† Journal of Bengal Asiatic Society, 1848, p. 495.

a suspicion that the name of *Khirkiya*, the "window, or little door, or passage," given to the mountain, must have been derived from this cave, as *dwara* and *khirki* have much the same meaning.

The full name of the hill would thus have been *Gridhra-dwâra-giri* or *Gridha-khirki-giri*, from either of which the present name of *Giryêk* might easily have been formed. I suppose also that the cave was often called simply *Khirki*, and the hill *Khirkiya-giri*, for which *Giryek* would be a natural abbreviation.

The importance of Giryek in Buddhist times is proved by the extent of the ruins near the village on the east bank of the Panchâna river, as well as by the interesting remains on the top of the hill. Close to the stream there is an extensive mound of ruins, half a mile in length from north to south, and 900 feet broad in its widest part.* There are the remains of two paved ascents on the river side, and of three more on the opposite side of the mound. In the middle there is a small mud fort, and at the northern end there are several pieces of sculpture collected together from different places. One of these is inscribed and dated in the year 42,† which is most probably the regnal year of one of the Pâla kings of Magadha.

I have now shown that the position of *Giryek* corresponds as exactly as possible with the minute description of Indra silaguha given by the accurate pilgrim Hwen Thsang. It agrees also with Fa Hian's account, but not with the position assigned by his distance and bearing of nine *yojanas* south-east from Patna, which, according to my valuation of the *yojana*, is 63 miles,‡ or about 23 miles to the south of Bihâr. The true distance from Patna to *Giryek viâ* Fatuha and Bihâr is as nearly as possible 50 miles, or about 7 *yojanas*. Fa Hian's distance is therefore just 2 *yojanas* in excess, if Giryek is the true position of *Indra silaguha*, where Indra proposed 42 questions to Buddha.

I have considered this subject with much care and attention. I admit that there are difficulties in Fa Hian's

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* See Plate XLIV for a map of Giryek.

† See Archæological Survey of India, Vol. I, p. 18, where I have given a long description of Giryek.

‡ See Ancient Geography of India, p. 571, Appendix B, where I have shown the *yojana* to be equal to 40 *li*, or as nearly as possible 7 British miles. For another value of the *yojana* by Fa Hian, I commend to Mr. Broadley's attention his distance of four *yojanas* between two such well authenticated places as Rajagriha and Gaya, which is between 28 and 30 miles.

account, owing apparently to simple negligence, as when he places Rajagriha to the *west* instead of to the south of *Nâlanda.* But I have a suspicion that many of the distances mentioned in his text have been derived by some editor from Hwen Thsang's journals. Thus, this very distance of nine *yojanas* between Patna and *Indra silaguha* may have been taken from Hwen Thsang's two distances of seven *yojanas* from Patna to Tiladhaka, and three *yojanas* from Tiladhaka to Nâlanda,—total 10 *yojanas*, from which, as Fa Hian places Nalanda to the south-west of *Indra silaguha*, that is, further to the south, one *yojana* must be deducted, leaving nine *yojanas* as the distance between Patna and Indra silaguha. I have observed several of these curious coincidences of distances in the two pilgrims' narratives; as for instance between Patna and Banâras, which, according to Fa Hian's text, was 22 *yojanas*, while the sum of all Hwen Thsang's distances between Banâras and Vaisâli is 880 *li*, which at 40 *li* to the *yojana*, is exactly equal to 22 *yojanas*. Now Hwen Thsang's distance of seven *yojanas* from Patna to Tiladhaka (or Tillâra) is certainly erroneous, as Tillâra is nearer to Patna than Jahânabad, that is, somewhat less than 30 miles, or say 28 miles, or 4 *yojanas*. Hence we get 4 + 3 = 7 *yojanas*, or 49 miles from Patna to Nâlanda *viâ* Tillâra. But as the route by Tillâra makes a considerable detour, its measurement on the map being as 54 to 42 by the direct line to Patna, the seven *yojanas* will be reduced to rather more than 5½ *yojanas*, or 40 miles direct. By adding nine miles to Giryek we get 49 miles, or seven *yojanas*, as the true distance between Patna and Indra silaguha by the route *viâ* Nâlanda, which agrees with the distance of 50 miles *viâ* Bihâr, as previously stated. With all these proofs before me, I can only repeat the opinion which I first published ten years ago, that the position of Giryek corresponds so exactly, both in bearing and distance, with that of the hill of *Indra silaguha*, that I am quite satisfied of their identity."*

KAPOTIKA MONASTERY.

On leaving *Indra silaguha*, Hwen Thsang states that he travelled from 150 to 160 *li*, from 25 to 27 miles, to the north-east, to the *Kapotika Sangharama*, or "Pigeon Monastery,"

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* Archæological Survey of India, Vol. I, p. 19.

two or three *li* to the south of which there was a very lofty solitary mountain covered with a number of Vihârs or temples richly sculptured.* This mention of a lofty hill is of much importance, as it points out with the greatest certainty that there must be a mistake in the distance, as there are no hills of any kind to the north of Bihâr and Shekhpura.† I would therefore reduce the pilgrim's numbers to 50 or 60 *li*, that is, to 8 or 10 miles, by omitting the round number of 100.

In my first report I proposed to identify the "Pigeon Monastery" with the ruined mound of *Titarâwa*, which possesses a colossal figure of Buddha on the bank of a fine sheet of water. *Titar* means a "partridge," which may have been the true original of the pilgrim's pigeon. The distance and direction of 10 miles to the north-east of Giryek agree exactly with the position of Titarâwâ. But four miles to the south-east of Titarâwâ, and 10 miles to the north-east of Giryek, there stands the high hill of *Parvati*, which was one of the survey stations, and beneath it the village of Daryâpur Pârvati. As *paravata* is one of the common Sanskrit names for a "pigeon," this identification would appear to be well founded, but it does not suit so well with the next place. I have not seen Pârvati myself, but I have arranged for its examination by one of my assistants during the ensuing cold season.

At 40 *li*, or nearly seven miles to the south-east of the "Pigeon Monastery," Hwen Thsang visited another monastery and stupa where Buddha was said to have preached for seven days in favour of the Brahmakâyikas. This must be *Aphsar*, which is seven miles to the south-east of Titarâwâ, but only three miles from Pârvati. The former place has therefore a better claim to be identified with the position of the "Pigeon Monastery." *Aphsar* will also be visited by my assistant during the ensuing cold season.

RAJAONA OR RAJJHANA.

After leaving the stupa and monastery of the Brahmakâyikas, Hwen Thsang travelled first to the north-east *for* 50 or 60 *li*, eight or 10 miles, to the south bank of the Ganges, and reached a large, well-peopled village, with numerous richly sculptured temples of the Brahmanical gods. As the

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* Julien's Hwen Thsang, III, pp. 61-62.

† I commend this fact to those who are inclined to adopt Mr. Broadley's position of Bihâr as Indra Silaguha.

distance from Aphsar to the present bed of the Ganges is 30 miles direct, and to the bank of the Halluhar, or old Ganges, from 18 to 25, it is clear that the distance given by Hwen Thsang is too little by about 100 *li*, and that we should therefore read 150 or 160 *li*, or 25 to 27 miles. This is the more probable, as the amount deficient is exactly the same as was found to be in excess in the first march made from Giryek, where I have proposed to read 50 to 60 *li*, instead of 150 to 160. But the account of the next march to *Lo-in-ni-lo* seems to offer an insuperable difficulty to this proposed emendation, as he describes the route as 100 *li*, or nearly 17 miles, to the east, through forests and *mountain gorges.* I see only one possible way of meeting this difficulty of the *mountain gorges,* and that is, to refer the situation on the bank of the Ganges to *Lo-in-ni-lo,* and to leave the distance of 50 to 60 unchanged. The first march from Aphsar might then be made to the north-east, 10 miles to the great Matakar Tâl, at the western end of the Shekhpura hills, and the second march of 17 or 18 miles about east-north-east to *Lo-in-ni-lo,* or Râjaona, on the bank of the old Ganges, just above the junction of the Kiyul river. As this route, *and this alone,* would have taken the pilgrim through the *forests* and *gorges* of the Shekhpura hills, I am inclined to adopt this view instead of altering the first distance named in the text.

M. Vivien de St. Martin proposed the village of *Rohinâla* as the representative of *Lo-in-ni-lo;* and, as this name is found in old maps very near *Rajaona,* I adopted it without hesitation.* But on my visit to this neighbourhood in January last, I was surprised to find that no such village had ever existed. The true name of the village is *Rahüa,* and after the high road was made by the British authorities, the Kiyul river, where it was crossed by the road, gradually came to be called the *Rahüa Nala;* but this name was never applied to the village. I am happy, however, to be able to offer the ancient *Rajaona,* with its extensive mounds of ruins, both Buddhist and Brahmanical, in place of the imaginary Rohinâla, which is not to be found in any of the modern maps.†

* Ancient Geography of India.

† See Indian Atlas, sheet No. 112, where Rahüa will be found in the bend of the Kiyul river, seven miles to the west-south-west of Surajgarha. See also Plate XL accompanying.

Hwen Thsang says only a few words about *Lo-in-ni-lo.* It possessed a monastery and a stupa of Asoka, with a lake 30 *li*, or five miles, in circuit, lying two or three *li*, or rather less than half a mile, to the north of the stupa.* The only place which suits this special description of *Lo-in-ni-lo* is *Rajjhâna* or *Rajaona*, which is situated two miles to the north-west of the Lakhi-Sarai Railway Station, near the junction of the Kiyul river with the old Ganges or Halluhar. It still possesses a large sheet of water to the north, which is supplied by the overflow of the Halluhar, direct from the Ganges. The position must have been a favourite one, as the mounds of ruins showing the foundations of both Buddhist stupas and Brahmanical temples extend for four miles along the western or left bank of the Kiyul river, with a varying breadth of from 1 mile to 1½ mile. At the northern end is the large village of Rajaona, and at the south the fortified hill city of Jaynagar, with a lake to the north-west, about three miles in circuit. Between Rajaona and the Railway Station is the small village of *Kagol*, which possesses the Dargâh of a great saint named Pîr Makhdûm Maulâna Nûr, who is said to have defeated Indardaun, or Indradyumna, the last Raja of Jaynagar. Immediately to the south of the Railway Station is the village of *Kiyul*, which must once have been a place of some importance, as it gave its name to the river.† It seems probable, therefore, that this was the name of the old city, of which *Jaynagar* on the south was the fort or citadel, and Rajaona the northern suburb. Indeed, I suspect that Kiyul or Kewal may have been the original of Hwen Thsang's *Lo-in-ni-lo.* Between Kiyul and the hill of Jaynagar is the village of *Kowaya*, situated in the midst of undulating mounds, which still yield bricks and statues and other relics of former days.

Rajaona is a large village surrounded by numerous mounds, the remains of ancient buildings which have furnished several miles of brick ballast to the railway. The great mounds are on the east and south-west. I made a superficial examination of most of these in February last, but a more complete examination will be carried out during the ensuing cold weather.

On the most northerly of the eastern mounds, which appears to have been a monastery, there are two Buddhist

* Julien's Hwen Thsang, III, 361.

† This name is variously spelt in our maps as Keol, Keewal, Keewul.

statues in black basalt. One of these is of Buddha himself as an ascetic, sitting under the Bodhi tree with an inscription on the base.* The other is an image of the Bodhisatwa *Padmapâni*, or the "lotus holder," whom Hwen Thsang always mentions by the name of *Avalokiteswara.* According to him the statue of this Bodhisatwa at the Pigeon Monastery was represented with a "lotus in his hand," and a figure of Buddha on his head.† A second large mound on the east shows no remains on the surface, but a third mound of small size has the well known figures of Hara-Gauri and Ganesa. To the south of the village there are one large and three small figures of the four-armed Vishnu, and low square mounds. A little further to the west there is a large mound, at the corner of a grove of trees, called *Choki.* This mound I partially excavated, and found it to be the ruins of a temple to Siva. It possesses two large pillars of blue stone, 16½ inches square, ornamented with bas-reliefs and inscriptions, some of which are as old as the 7th or 8th century. There are also several good specimens of the curious style of flourished letters, which will very probably be of much assistance hereafter in enabling us to read these mysterious writings. I have already made some progress towards it, and I find that this peculiar style was in use all over Northern India during the 7th and 8th centuries.

In the accompanying plate‡ I have given all the readable inscriptions of these Rajaona pillars. All the four faces of these pillars have been sculptured, but some portions are now broken and some are lost. I have distinguished the two pillars as A and B, and have numbered the faces 1, 2, 3 and 4.

A 1 has two figures fighting to the left beside a prostrate figure. Beneath are two short inscriptions in perpendicular lines.

A 2 has a half female figure ending in flowered tracery, and beneath her a group of a seated goddess, with an attendant holding an umbrella over her, and two standing and one keeling figure with joined hands before her. Immediately below the group are two inscriptions, which are shown in the accompanying plate. At the top, in large letters

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* See Plate XLV, No. 32.
† Julien's Hwen Thsang, III, 62.
‡ Plate XLV, figs. A 2 and B 2.

of the 7th or 8th century, is *Sri Bhima-kshudra* (?), and to the right a perpendicular line of small letters of the same age, reading *Ratana pra.*

A 3 shows Siva seated to the left on rocks (Mount Kailâs) with a snake on his shoulder, and three attendants. He is holding out his hand to a young female kneeling on a crocodile, with an attendant holding an umbrella over her. As this is the usual way in which the Ganges is represented, it might be supposed that this was the river goddess herself, but I rather think that the figure is intended for the resuscitated *Sati*, who as *Parvati* returned to her disconsolate husband. When Pârvati is thus represented, she is considered the same as Gangâ.

A 4 has a god and a goddess seated with one female attendant.

B 1 has four figures—two wrestling, one standing, and one broken.

B 2 has a human-headed bird in a semicircle, and beneath this a group of Siva and Pârvati seated on rocks (Mount Kailâs), with the four-armed Bhairav standing in front, and a kneeling figure with joined hands to the left. Immediately below the group are several inscriptions which are shown in the accompanying plate.* At the top, in small letters of the 7th or 8th century, is the name *Raṇa-sûrasya*, "of the hero in battle." Below this, in small characters written sideways, is *Jajjatena*, "by Jajjata." To the right, in large letters of curious shapes, is *Maha bhadra kinda*, and in the middle are several of the fantastic characters which I have already referred to as not yet deciphered.

B 3 has a lion's head and forepaws to the front, with a tree beneath. To the left are two figures in a four-wheeled chariot drawn by two horses, and to the right a figure with his arms raised above his head. Below these figures there are three perpendicular lines of the undeciphered writing, the middle line being in much larger characters than the others.

B 4 is broken, but there is a perfect inscription of five letters in a horizontal line, which is useful for indicating which is the upper side of the line of writing.

At a short distance to the north of the *Chaki* mound, there is a lofty square mound with two statues of the goddess

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* Plate XLV, fig. B 2.

Kâli and Ganes, showing that these ruins are the remains of a Siva temple. To the west of the last there is a very large mound, 400 feet in length, which is still supplying bricks to the railway.

Inside the village I found a small mound with a lingam, and a figure of Shasti or Bhawâni, with a long slab of the Navagraha or Nine Planets.

Being pressed for time, I was obliged to give up a further exploration of Rajaona, but I have made arrangements for a careful and systematic search of this promising site during the coming cold season.

KIYUL AND BIRDÂBAN.

I have already described the position of the village of Kiyul or Kewal on the left bank of the river which takes its name, and immediately to the south of the Railway Station of Lakhi-Sarai. The village is a small one, but I infer that it must have been a place of importance at some former period, when it gave its name to the river. I suspect *Kiyul* to be an altered form of the name which Hwen Thsang has handed down to us as *Lo-in-ni-lo.*

To the west of the village there is a large tank called *Sansar Pokhar*, and to the north of it a smaller one, with the foundations of a Buddhist temple on its eastern side, with several Buddhist figures. In the village itself there is a large image in black basalt of Padmapâni, and a smaller figure of the same Bodhisatwa in the zamindâr's garden.

To the south of *Kiyul* is the small village of *Kowaya,* a modern place, but built upon part of the ancient city. Its lands are in fact a mere succession of undulating mounds, abounding in old bricks and broken images. In the village itself there is a finely preserved figure of Shasti or Bhawâni, called simply Devi, with a child in her lap. Here I was fortunate enough to obtain a small image of one of the *Pancha Dhyâni Buddha Saktis,* but nothing that I could offer would induce the people to part with their goddess Devi.

On the eastern bank of the river, just opposite *Kiyul,* there is a conspicuous mound upwards of 30 feet in height, which I soon found to be a stupa of solid brick.* The mound is known by the name of *Birdâban,* of which no

* Plate XLVI, fig. 1

one could tell the meaning. The mound itself was also called *garh*, or "the tower," and it is probable that *Birdāban* was the name of the small hamlet of a dozen houses to the north-west of it. To the west there is a low mound from 150 to 160 feet square, the remains of a monastery, and to the east and south there are other small mounds, all showing the site of a regular Buddhist establishment.

I sank a shaft in the top of the mound, and at a depth of 6 feet, or 25 feet above the ground level, a small chamber was uncovered, which contained a relic casket of pale-yellow steatile in the shape of a stupa, and a small figure of the ascetic Buddha in the same material. This image had lost its head, which made me suspect that the chamber had been excavated previously, but on opening the casket this suspicion was dissipated, as I found inside it a small golden box containing a fragment of bone, and a broken silver box of the same shape and size with a green glass bead.* Beside the casket there were other fragments of bone and a single tooth. There was nothing to indicate the age of the monument, but I conclude from the extreme height of the stupa, compared to its diameter, that the building was of late date, that is, not earlier than the 9th or 10th century. This date was curiously confirmed by a subsequent discovery which was made in two small chambers on the east and west sides of the stupa.

On the eastern face of the mound, and 25 feet above the ground level, I observed some bricks which seemed to form a small arch of the peculiar fashion made by placing the bricks edge to edge, instead of face to face, which I have already described in my account of Buddha Gaya. On clearing away the broken bricks, I found a small arched chamber, 4 feet 6 inches broad, and 5 feet high, filled with rubbish, and at the bottom two or three hundred seals of *lac*. As these were scattered about amongst the bricks, it was evident that this chamber had been opened before. I therefore tried the west and north sides of the stupa, as I thought that there might be a similar chamber on each of the other sides. On the north side nothing was found, but on the west side a similar chamber was discovered after half an hour's work. This fortunately proved to be intact.† In it was found a large

* Plate XLVI, figs. 4, 5, and 6.

† Plate XLVI, fig. 7.

earthenware jar, nearly three feet in height, entirely filled with lac seals, of which we counted altogether two thousand seven hundred. These seals, on examination, were found to be of four different kinds. I presume that they were the official seals of the monastery at different periods. Of these which appeared to be oldest, there were not more than 50, and all of them more or less defaced. Of the largest sized seals, 2½ inches in length, there were about one hundred; and of each of the other two kinds, there were about twelve hundred. At least three-fourths of the whole number were injured by the pressure of the others during the summer heats of several centuries. I have given sketches of two of these seals in the accompanying plate.* Both present the figure of Buddha, the ascetic, seated under the holy pippal tree of Buddha Gaya,† with rows of small stupas on each side Both are inscribed. No. 3 has the usual profession of the Buddhist faith, beginning with *Ye-dharmma*, but No. 2 has only one line, which opens with *Sri-dharmma*, but the other letters are indistinct. They look like *cha-rabhahada*, or *Varabhaheda*; but these readings do not offer any intelligible meaning. The characters of the writing, however, present us with the means of ascertaining the date when the seals were engraved, which I would fix in the 10th or 11th century.

At the bottom of the large earthen jar I found a small earthen vessel imbedded amongst the seals. Inside this there were four bronze images and one steatile image of the ascetic Buddha. The bronze figures are respectively 3½, 2½, 2¼ and 2¼ inches high, and the steatile figure only 1¼ inch. They are all in good order. I found 84 *lac* seals of the same size in the basement of a building close to Jarâsandha's tower on the Giryek hill, but these have a large stupa in the middle, with four small stupas on each side, the whole surrounded by the usual inscription in mediæval Nagari letters, of the profession of the Buddhist faith, *Ye-dharmma*, &c. About 80 years ago, a large number of similar seals was found in the stupa at Bakror, opposite Buddha Gaya.‡ These were not inscribed, and from their

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* Plate XLVI, figs. 2 and 3.

† On No. 3 the leaves of the pippal tree, with their long stalks and long-pointed ends, are well discriminated.

‡ Shoor's Hindu Pantheon, Plate LXX, figs. 6, 7 and 8.

appearance, I judge them to be of earlier date than those of the Birdâban stupa of Kiyul.

JAYNAGAR.

Jaynagar is said to have been the stronghold of the last Hindu Prince of Magadha, named Inderdaun or Indradyumna. Buchanan says that he was king "after the Muhammadans had obtained possession of Delhi."* This agrees with the more precise information which I obtained, that he was defeated by the Makhdûm Maulâna Nûr, whose tomb is at Kâgol, half a mile to the north of the railway station of Lakhi-Sarai. A broken inscription lying in the courtyard of the tomb bears the date of A. H. 697, or A. D. 1297-98, but it has no reference to the saint. Of the saint himself I could not obtain any further information, excepting that he had a brother Pir named *Palang-posh*, or *Paran-posh*. The enclosing wall of his dargâh is built of Hindu materials, including a door-jamb sculptured with musicians. Buchanan was told that Indradyumna retired to Orissa and built the temple of Jagannâth. But according to the statement which I received, he retired to Jaynagar and dwelt in a cave in the south face of the north hill, which is still called Inderdaun's house. This cave was pointed out to me, but I did not visit it, as it is no longer accessible. I suppose him to have been one of the last of the Pâla Rajas of Magadha, who defended his country against the Muhammadans under Bakhtiâr Khilji.

There is a small village called Jaynagar, but the name belongs properly to the strong military position on the south, to which Indradyumna is said to have retired after his defeat by the Muhammadans. The position is formed by two short parallel ridges of rocky hills running from west to east, the opening to the west being closed by a large earthen rampart, and that to the east by several massive works, which are now mere mounds. These hills are upwards of 300 feet in height, and the northern ridge is very difficult of access. In the valley between the ridges there are two long parallel mounds, which have every appearance of being what the people say they are,—the ruins of the houses of a long street or bâzâr.

* Eastern India, II, 23.

The peak of the northern ridge has once been crowned by some building, probably a stupa; on the southern ridge there are the foundations and part of the walls of a monastery 160 feet square. The walls are of large dressed stones on both faces, and there are quantities of bricks lying about the ruins, as well as on a spur below the monastery, which has been levelled to form a terrace for building. On all the mounds at the eastern entrance, as well as on the low spurs of the hills, there are remains of both stone and brick buildings, showing that Jaynagar must once have been a place of considerable extent and importance.

To the west and south of the hills there are many fine tanks of different sizes. According to the people, there are *athâra-ganda-pokhar* or "eighteen fours of tanks," but I could not count more than eighteen altogether from the top of the southern ridge. There must, however, be several more to the north, and there are, no doubt, many dry tanks. On the north-west there is a fine sheet of water, upwards of a mile in length from north to south, which has been formed by embankments extending from the western end of the northern ridge as far as Jowaya. The circuit of this lake is now 2½ miles, but at its greatest extent, during the annual rains, it probably reaches, as the people assert, not less than four miles.

Jaynagar is the most southern portion of the great city, which once extended four miles in length, along the western or left bank of the *Kiyul* river. It corresponds in position with the *Lo-in-ni-lo* of Hwen Thsang, which he places at 200 *li*, or 33 miles, to the west of *Hiranya-Parvata* or *Mongir*, and I think it probable, as I have before stated, that the Chinese syllables may be only a faulty rendering of *Kiyul* or *Kewul*, which, as it gave its name to the river, would appear to have been the principal place on its banks at some early period before the establishment of Rajaona and Jaynagar.

NON-GARH.

Non-garh, or *Longarh,* is a large village on the left or western bank of the *Kiyul* river, 6 miles to the S.-S.-E. of Jaynagar. I was at first inclined to consider Non-garh as the true representation of Hwen Thsang's *Lo-in-ni-lo,* or *Longara,* as the names are very nearly the same, while the

only two buildings which the pilgrim mentions, a monastery and a great stupa, correspond with the only two ruins now existing at Non-garh. The stupa must have been a very large one, as I found its diameter to be 126½ feet at the ground level, and nearly 90 feet at 20 feet above the ground. At 200 feet to the eastward, on the bank of the Kiyul, there are the remains of a monastery 250 feet square, of which about half has been carried away by the river. In these respects Non-garh corresponds exactly with the *Lo-in-ni-lo* of Hwen Thsang; but as it does not now possess a very large sheet of water, its correspondence with the pilgrim's description is imperfect.

The great mound called *Non-garh*, which gives its name to the village, is 40 feet in height, and 200 feet in diameter at the base.* It is a solid mass of well-burnt bricks, each 12 by 9 by 2 inches. I sank a shaft from the top, and at 7 feet reached a small chamber containing three small stupas of unburnt clay, one of which is represented in the accompanying plate†. Continuing the work, a second chamber was reached at 8½ feet, which contained eight rudely formed stupas of unburnt clay. One of these is represented in figure 4. The shaft was continued down to a depth of 11½ feet without any further result, and I then stopped the work. I think it possible, however, that there may be a more interesting deposit on the level of the terrace, 20 feet above the ground, at the point marked P in the plate, which I take to correspond with the point marked P in the small clay stupa, figure 3. If Non-garh is the *Lo-in-ni-lo* of Hwen Thsang, then this great stupa was originally built by Asoka, and a further excavation might possibly light upon the remains of one of the first stupas of Asoka. I should expect that this would be announced by some change in the size and appearance of the bricks, and if such a change was not found at a depth of 20 or 22 feet, any further excavation should be abandoned.

That Non-garh is a place of considerable antiquity, is proved by the discovery of a broken statue bearing the remains of an inscription in early characters of the 1st century before or after Christ.‡ The statue is made of the red-spotted sandstone of the Sikri quarries near Mathura, and

* Plate XLVII, fig. 1. † Plate XLVII, fig. 3.
‡ Plate XLVII, fig. 2, and the letters above it.

110 wide. Traces remain to show that this terrace has been occupied by three apartments, where probably the raja sat in state, while his family was lodged in wooden buildings that have left no trace."

In confirmation of Buchanan's opinion that the great mound in the citadel of Indappe was most probably a Buddhist stupa, I can quote the information which I received from some of my workmen when employed in excavating the Birdâban *garh*, or stupa opposite *Kiyul*. According to them, there existed two other *garhs* or stupas, of which one was at *Non-garh*, three kos to the south, and the other at a place, of which they could not remember the name, 10 kos, or 20 miles, to the south, towards the hills. Now this description exactly suits the position of Indappe, which is just 20 miles to the south-south-west of the Birdâban stupa, and close to the hills. Indappe will be visited during the coming cold season by one of my assistants, and his attention will be specially directed to the exploration of this mound, as well as to the promising site of the Kiyul river.

Postscript.

After leaving the Kiyul river, I proceeded direct to Calcutta, from whence I started by rail and steamer for Dhaka, for the purpose of visiting the ruins of Sunârgaon, the old capital of Eastern Bengal. This trip, which might have been very trying to health, as well as meagre in its results, was made both pleasant and fruitful by the kind thoughtfulness of my friend Dr. James Wise. He not only made all the necessary arrangements for boats and elephants, but accompanied me himself to Sunârgaon and Bikrampur, and freely gave me all the information which he had been able to collect. In Dhaka itself there is nothing ancient. The tomb of Bibi Peri, one of Shaista Khan's daughters, is both curious and interesting, as all its roofs, including the central dome of 19¼ feet span, are formed in the old Hindu fashion by overlapping stones. There is no inscription about the tomb; but as the neighbouring masjid, built by Shaista Khan, is dated in A. H. 1095, or A. D. 1684, the tomb must be within a few years of the same time.

From Sunârgaon I crossed the Padda, or Ganges, to Bikrampur, whither the Sena Rajas of Bengal had retired on the occupation of Gaur by the Muhammadans. The chief

places of interest are, *Ballâl-bari*, the palace of Ballâl Sen, and the tomb of Bâbâ Adam, one of the early Muhammadan invaders. In Sunârgaon and Bikrampur I obtained 12 inscriptions for the illustration of the Muhammadan history of Bengal.

I then returned to Calcutta, and paid a visit to *Pandua*, near Hughli, on my way to Gaur. Here I got four Muhammadan inscriptions.

At *Gaur*, the old capital of Bengal, I spent several days, making plans of all the existing buildings, and copies of the inscriptions. I then proceeded to *Hazrat* Pandua, which was made the capital during the long reign of Sikandar, the son of Iliâs Shah, upwards of five centuries ago. The great Adina mosque, one of the largest masjids in the world, was built by this king. Although it is heavy in design, and petty in all its ornamental details, like most of the Muhammadan architecture of Bengal, yet its vast size gives it a dignity which is perhaps enhanced by the many fine trees now growing amongst its ruins. It is a great building in a vast solitude.

I then visited Koil, Etâwa, and Delhi, and sent a party to Bedaun, to make plans of the tombs and masjids of the Delhi and Jaunpur kings, and to collect fresh inscriptions. I was fortunate in both objects, and I have now got a large mass of plans and drawings for the illustration of the Muhammadan architecture of Delhi and Jaunpur. All the Muhammadan inscriptions will be made over to my friend Mr. Blochmann, who has kindly offered to translate them; and all the Sanskrit inscriptions from Magadha will be sent to Bâbu Pratâpa Chandra Ghos, to be rendered into English for the illustration of the Hindu history of Eastern India.

A. CUNNINGHAM, *Major General,*

Director General of the Archæological Survey of India.

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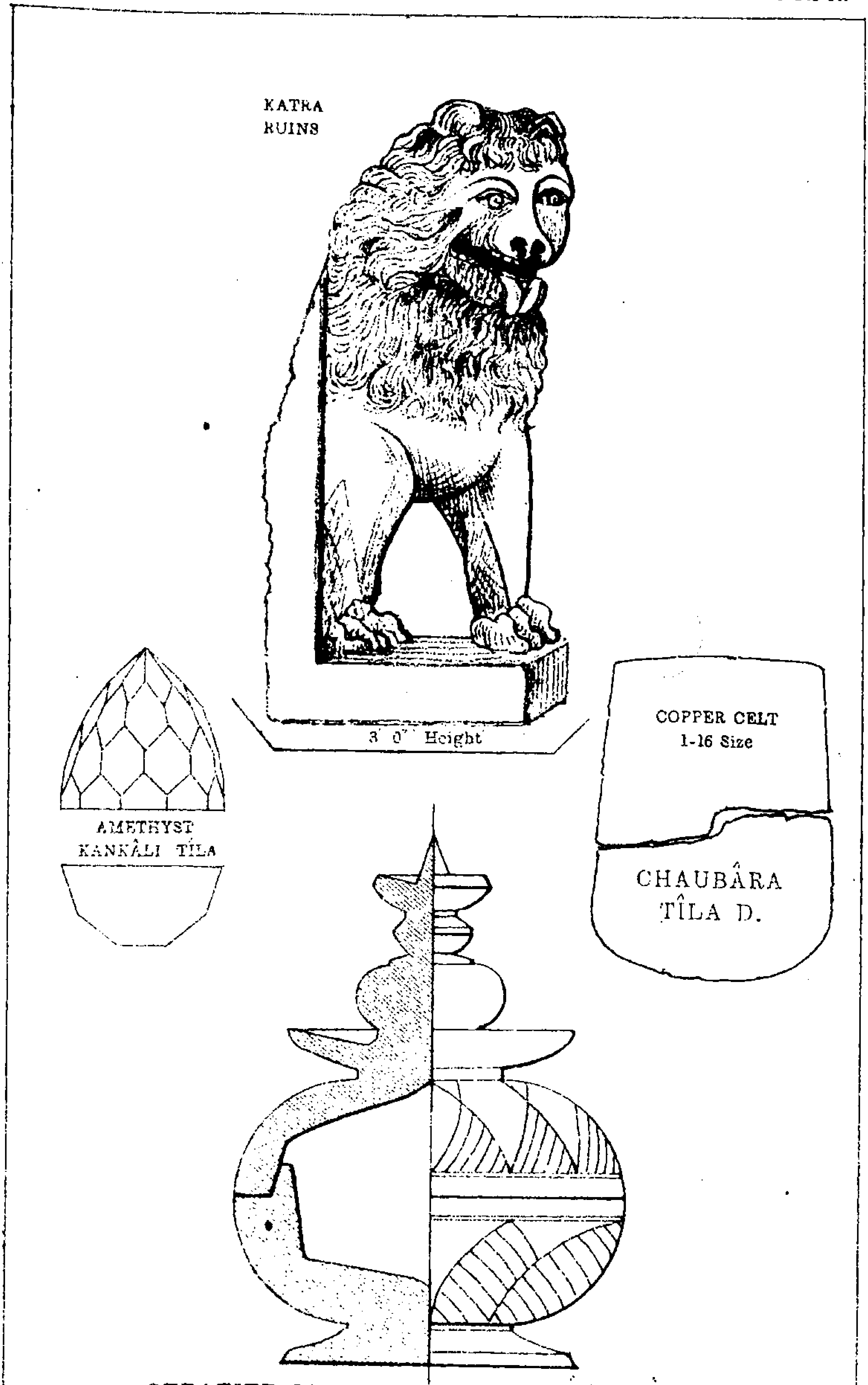

STEATITE RELIC BOX- CHAUBÂRA TÎLA A.

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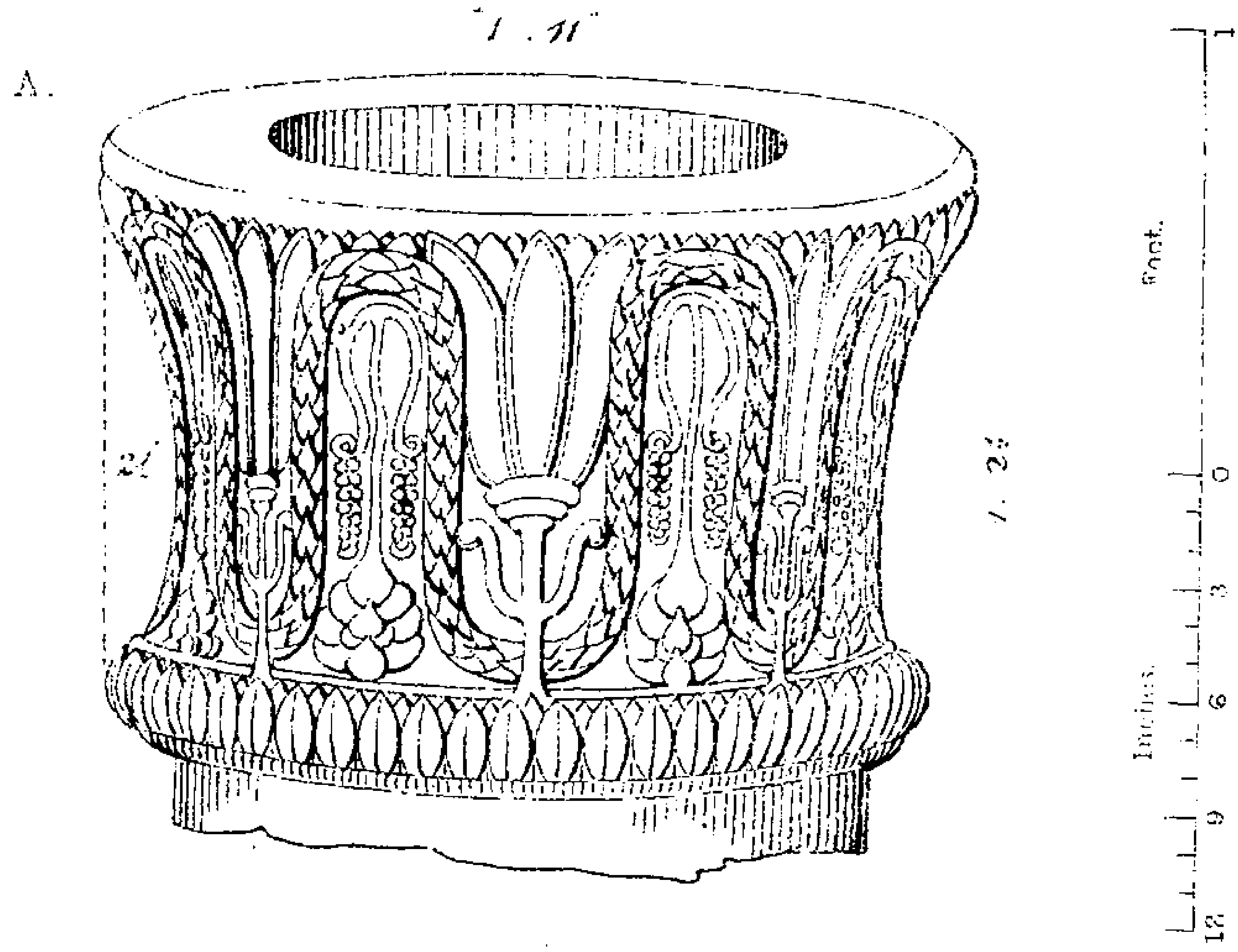

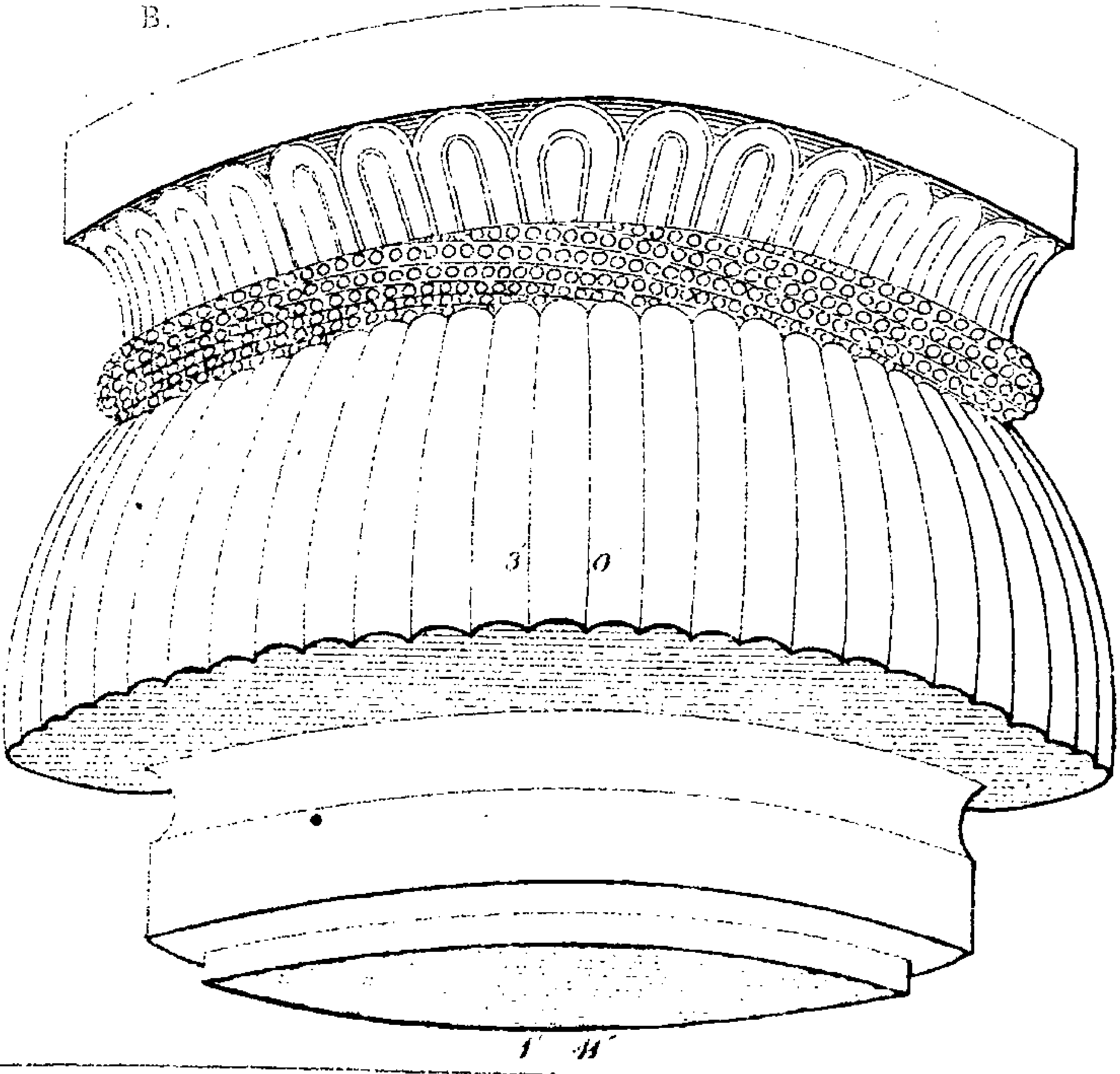

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KING HUVISHKA B. C. 18.

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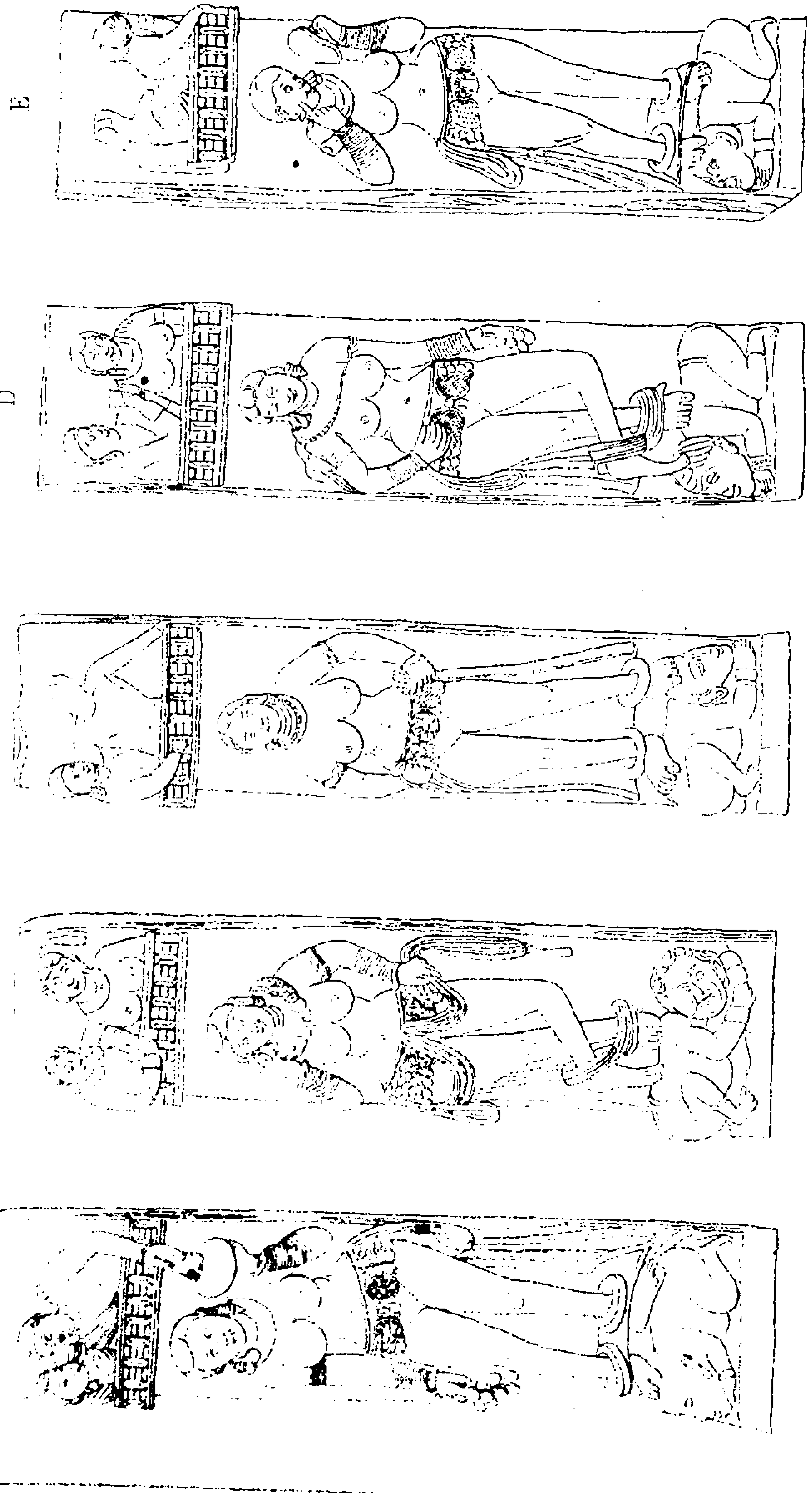
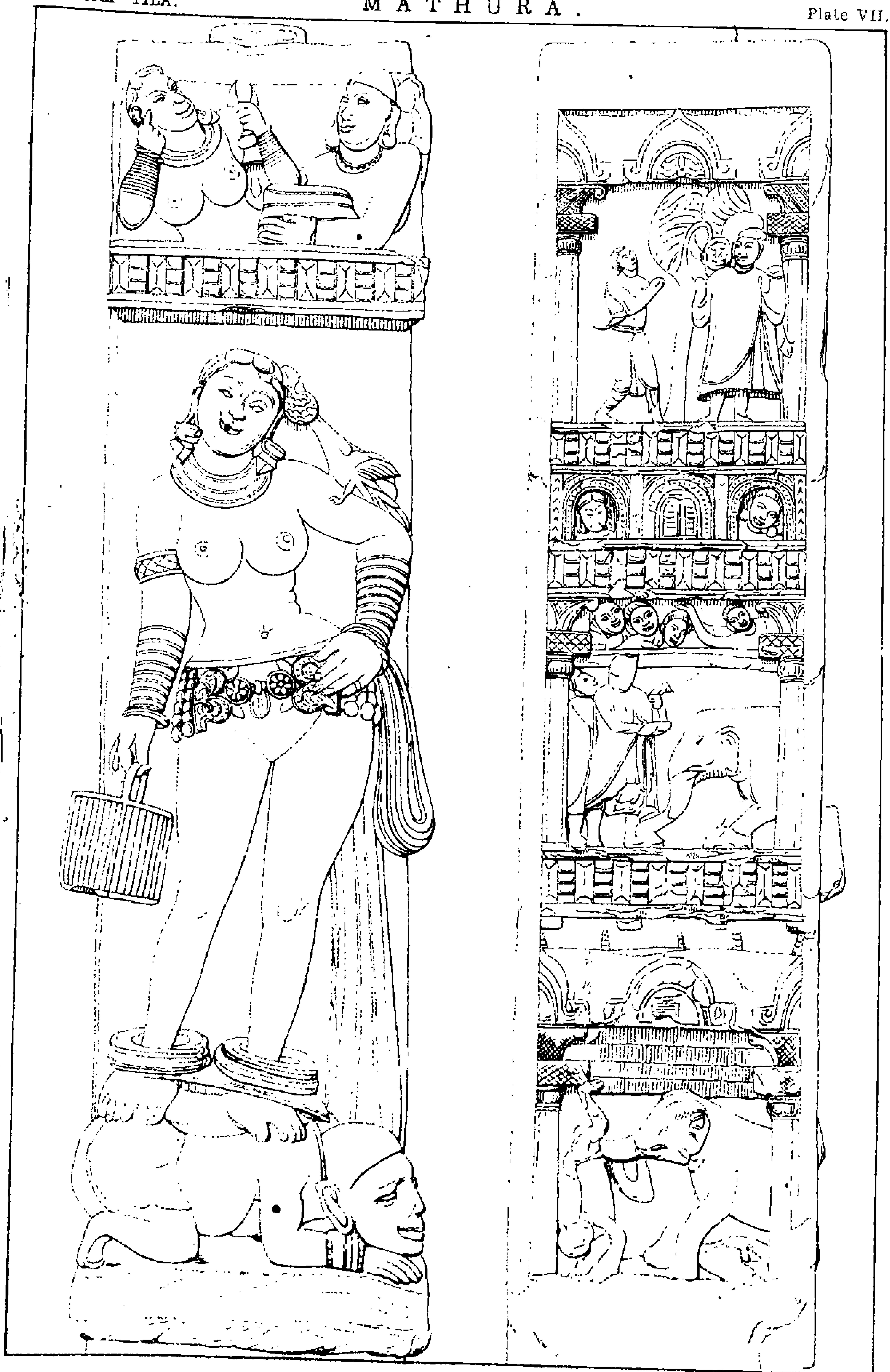


A B C D E

From DHARMSALA near BUTESWAR TEMPLE.



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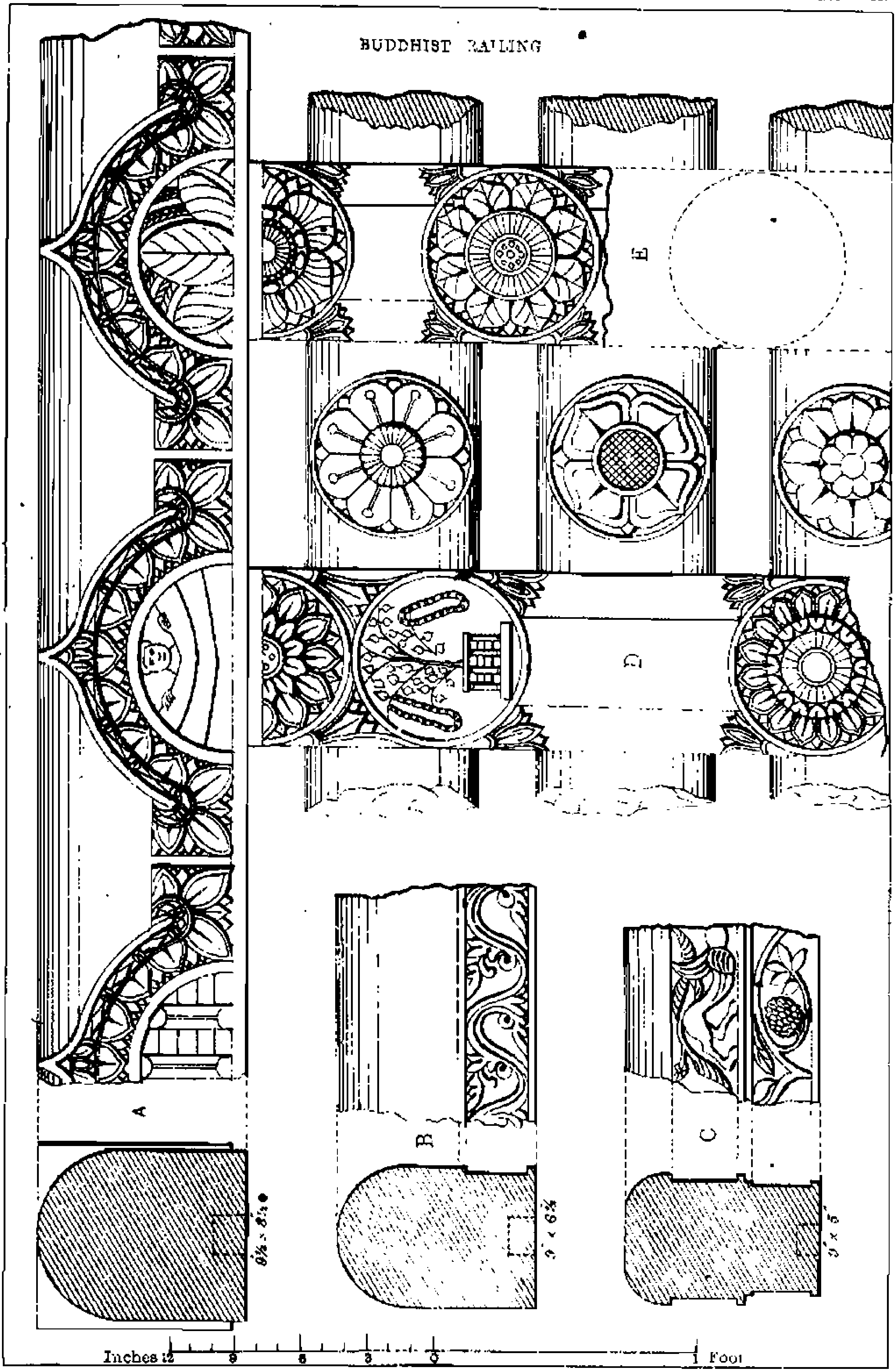

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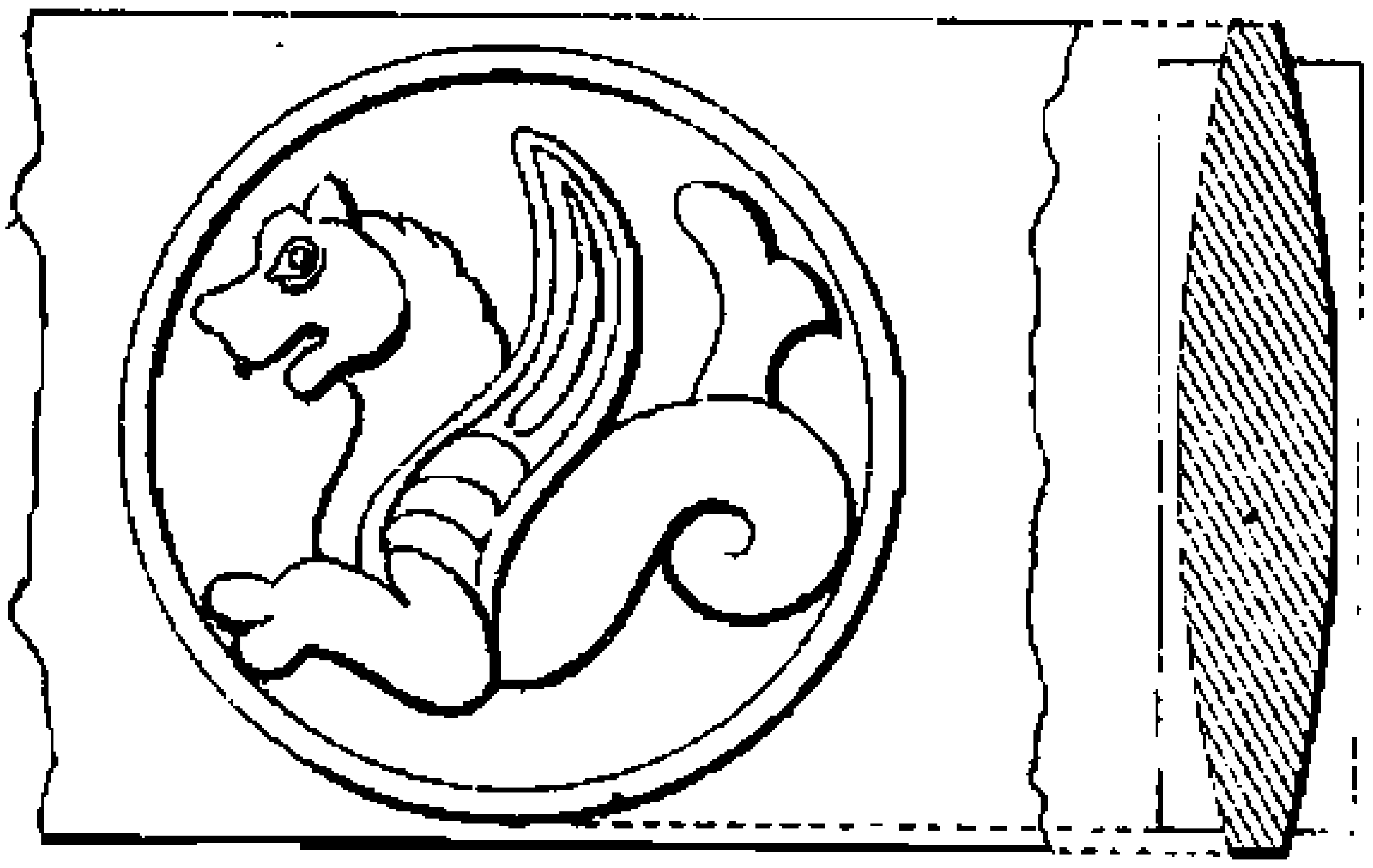
RAILS OF BUDDHIST RAILING.

ANIMALS,

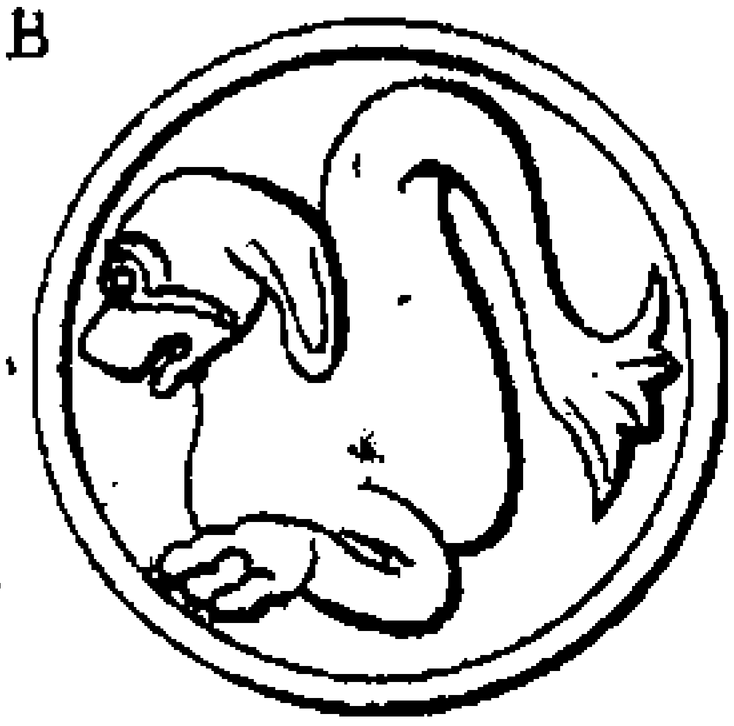
8 ½ inch Rails.



A.

6 ¾ inch Rails.

B



C.

D.

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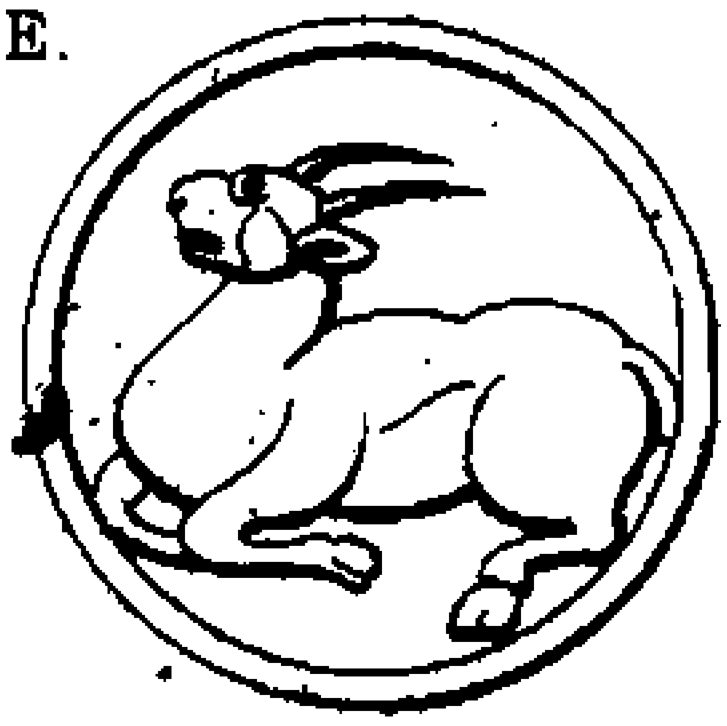

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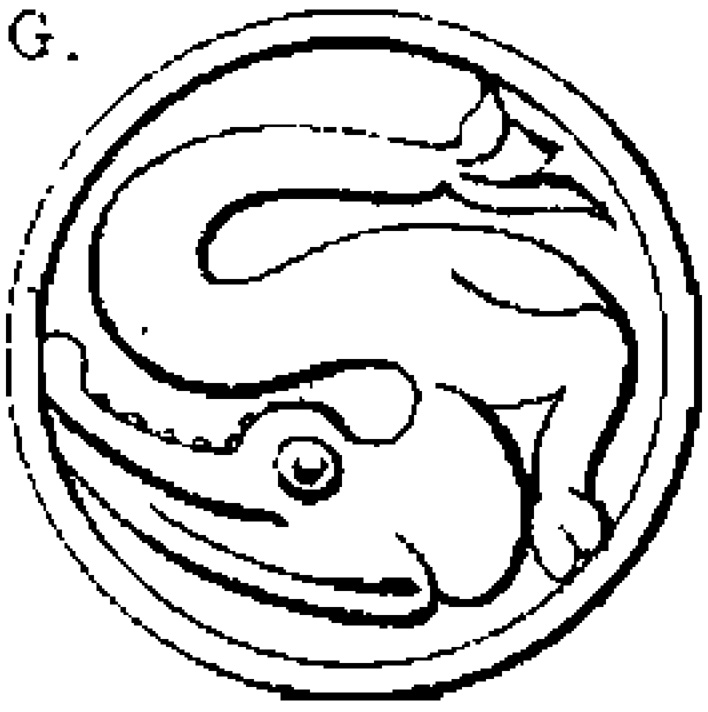

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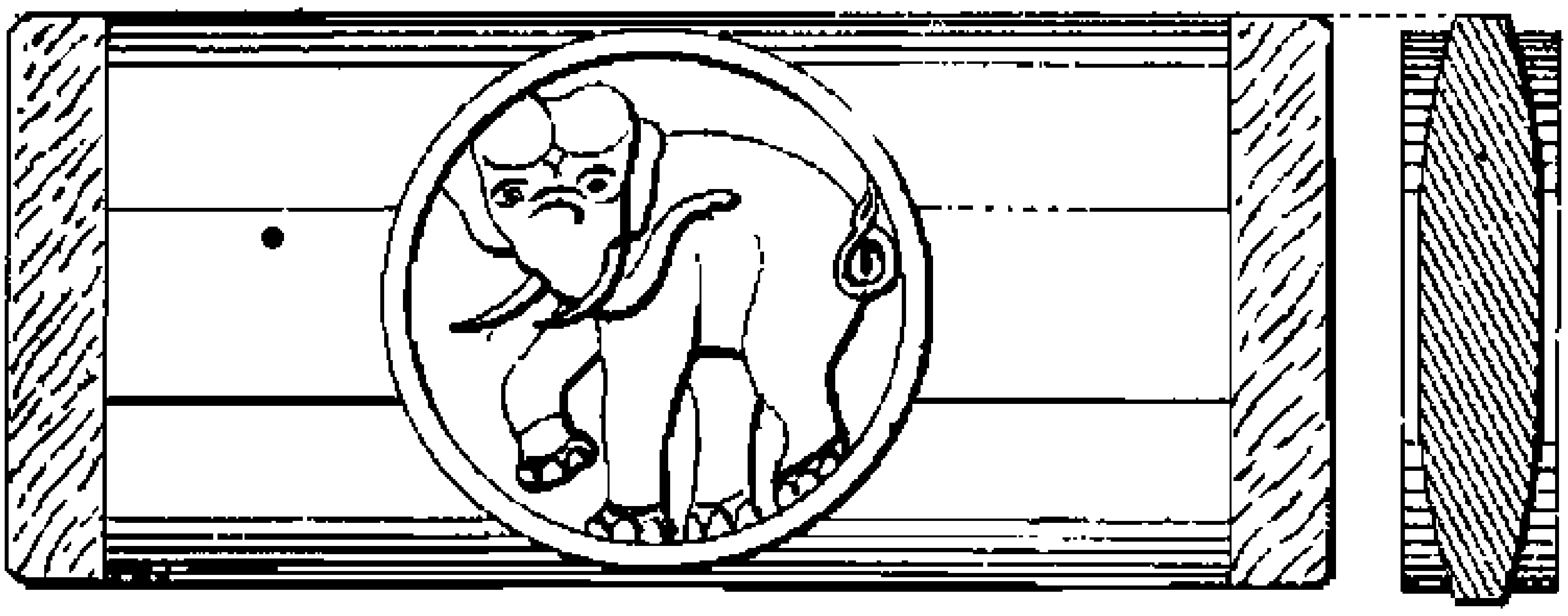

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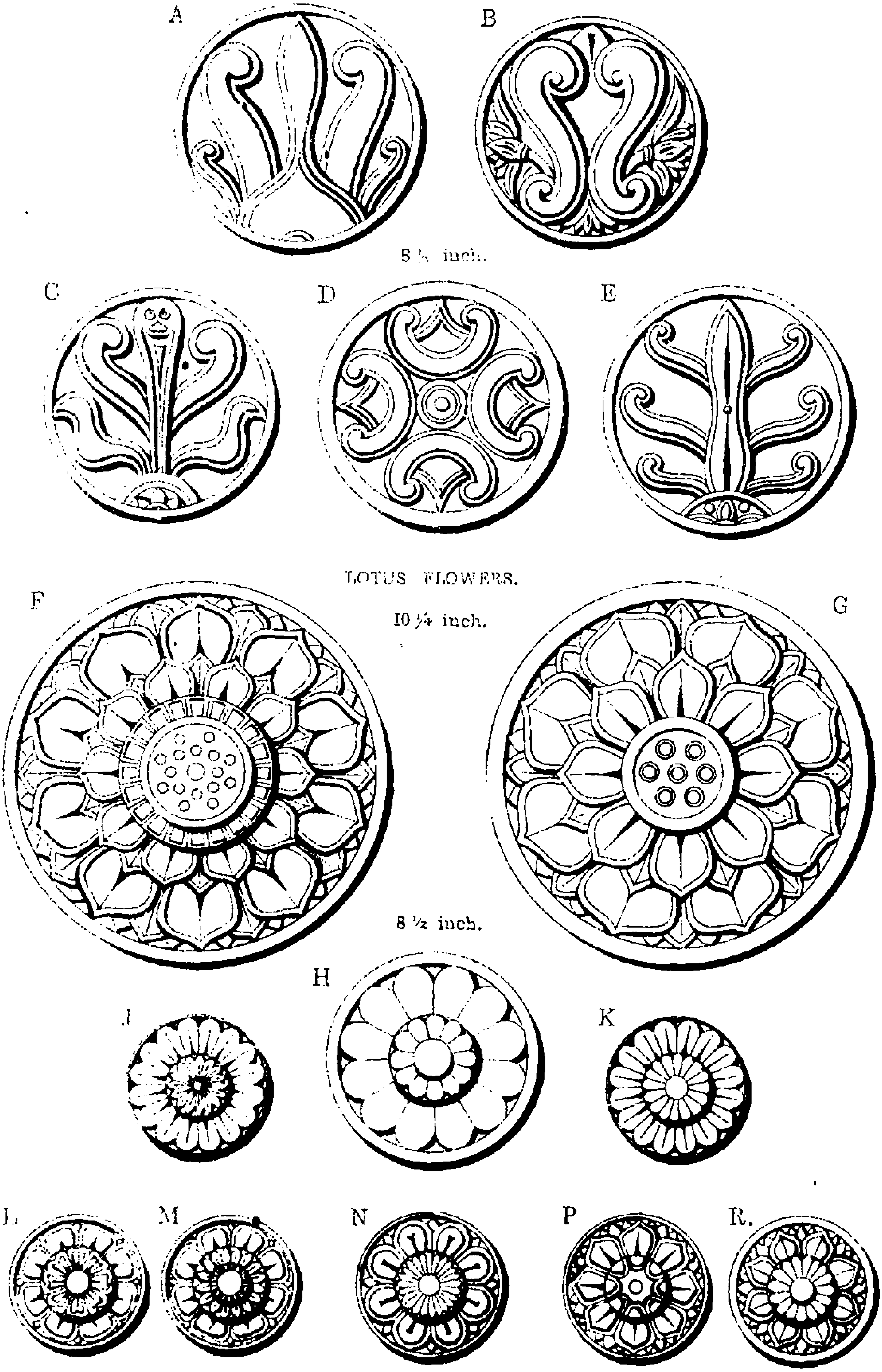

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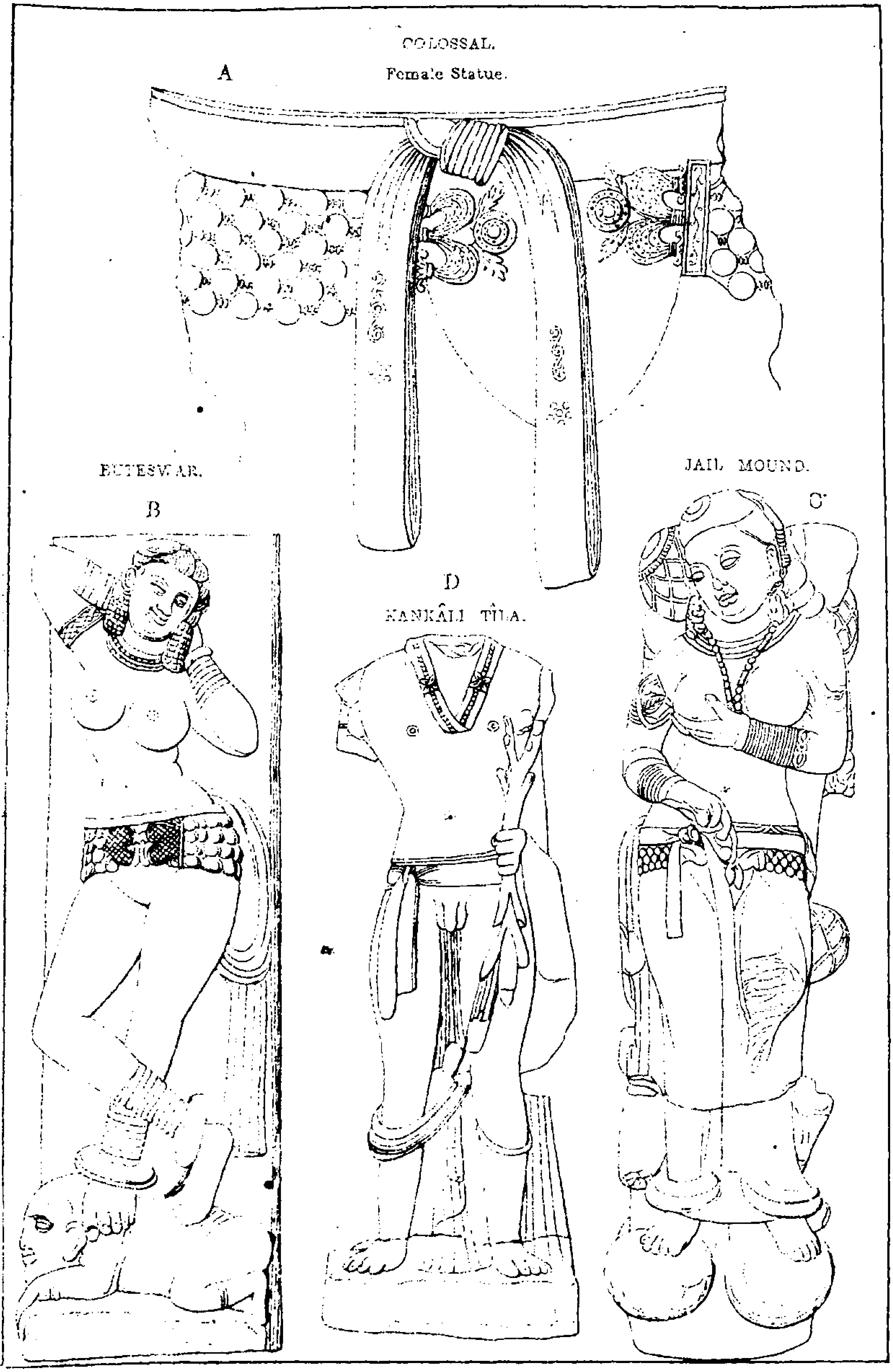

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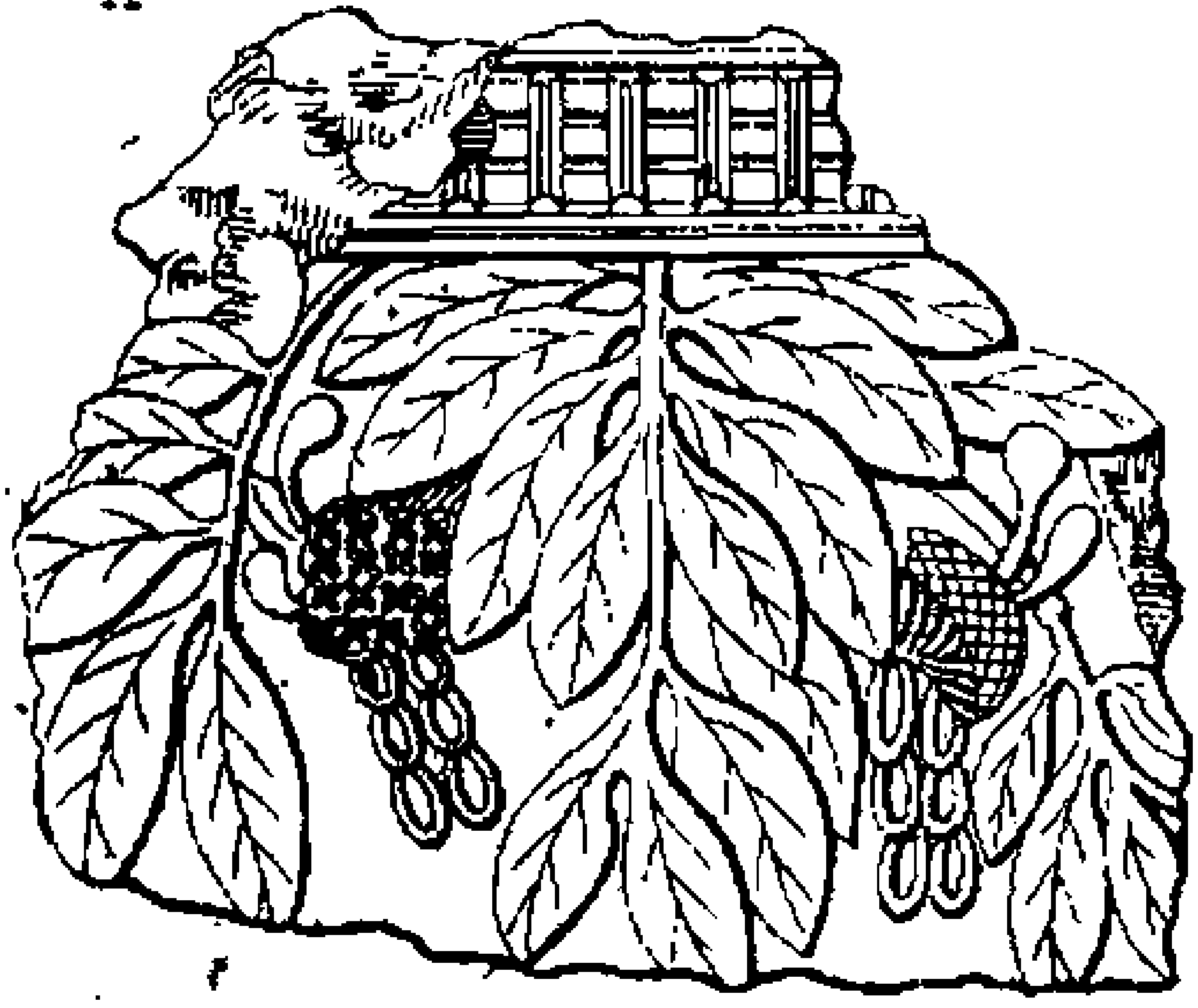
TREES AND FLOWERS.

KANKÂLI TÎLA. KATRA.

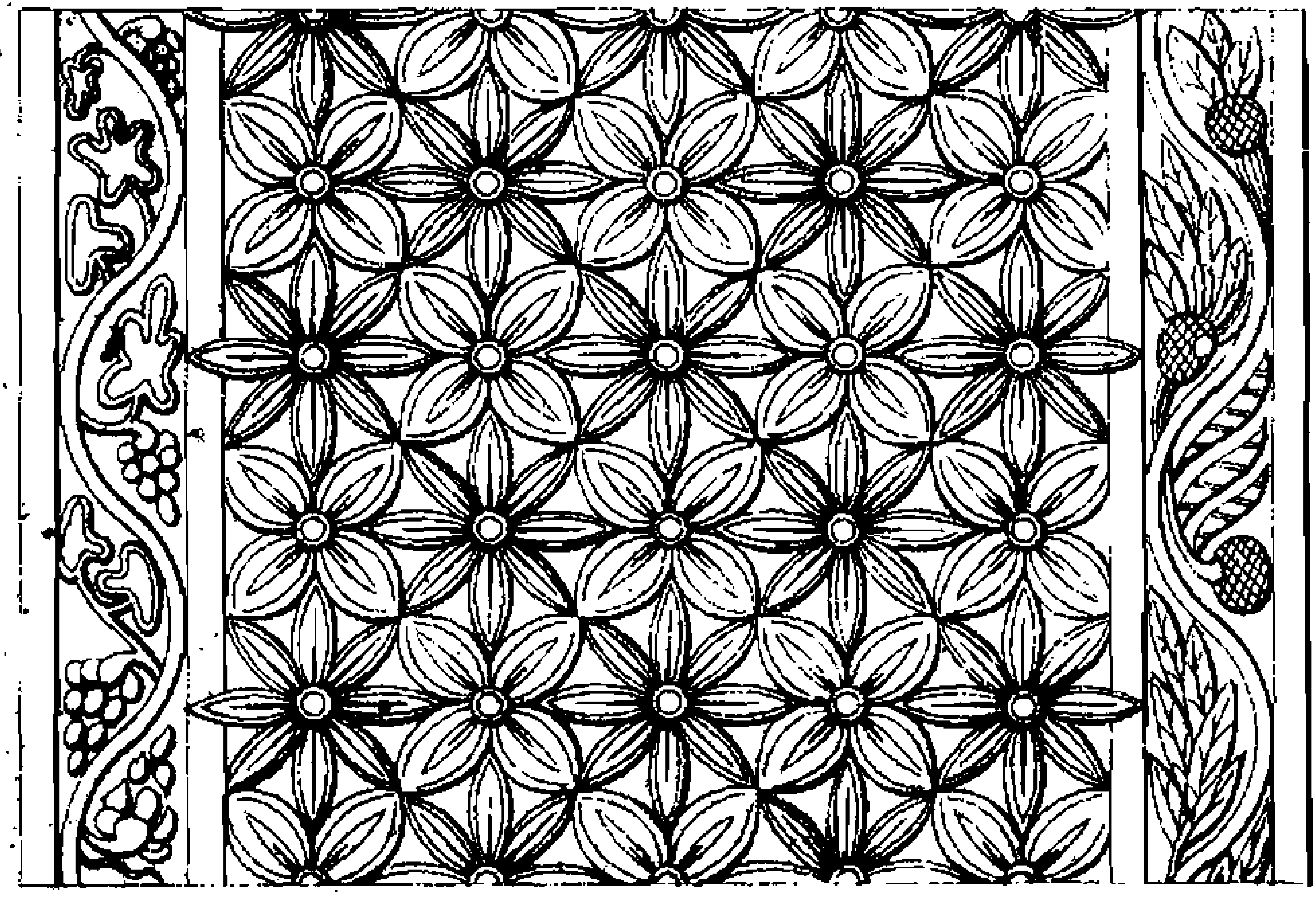
A



B

C

JAIL MOUND.



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SATRAP SAUDÂSA.

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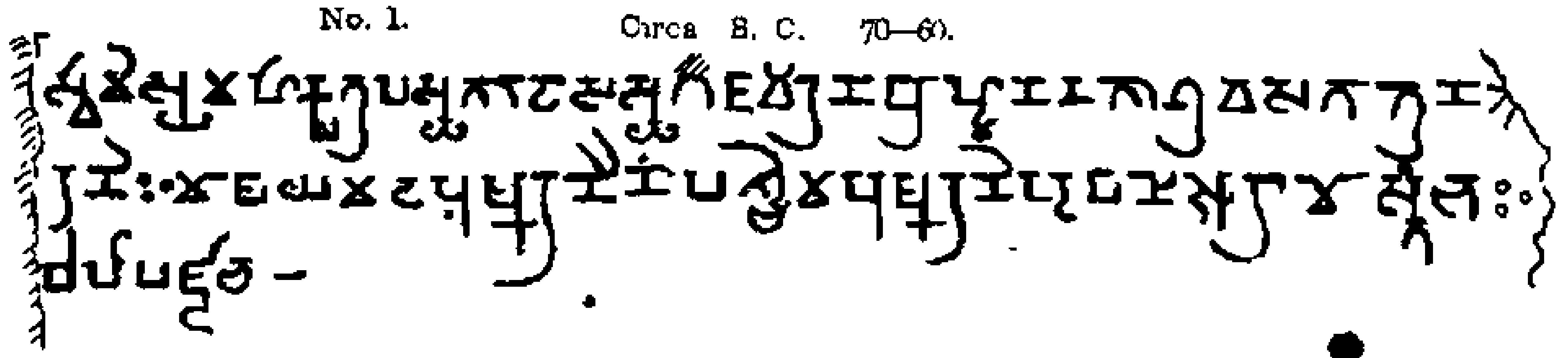

KING KANISHKA OR KANERKES.

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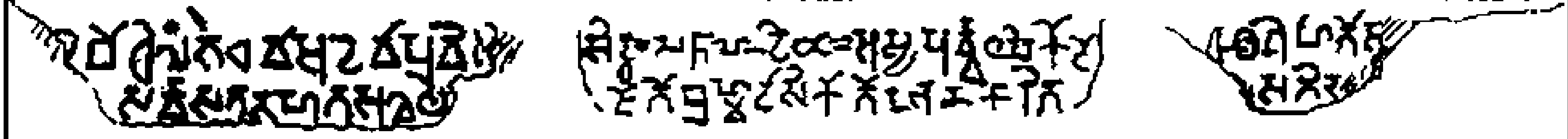

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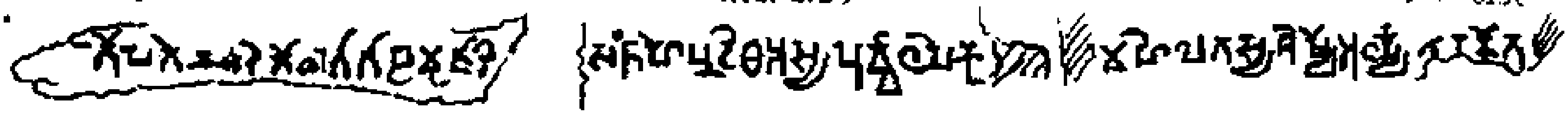

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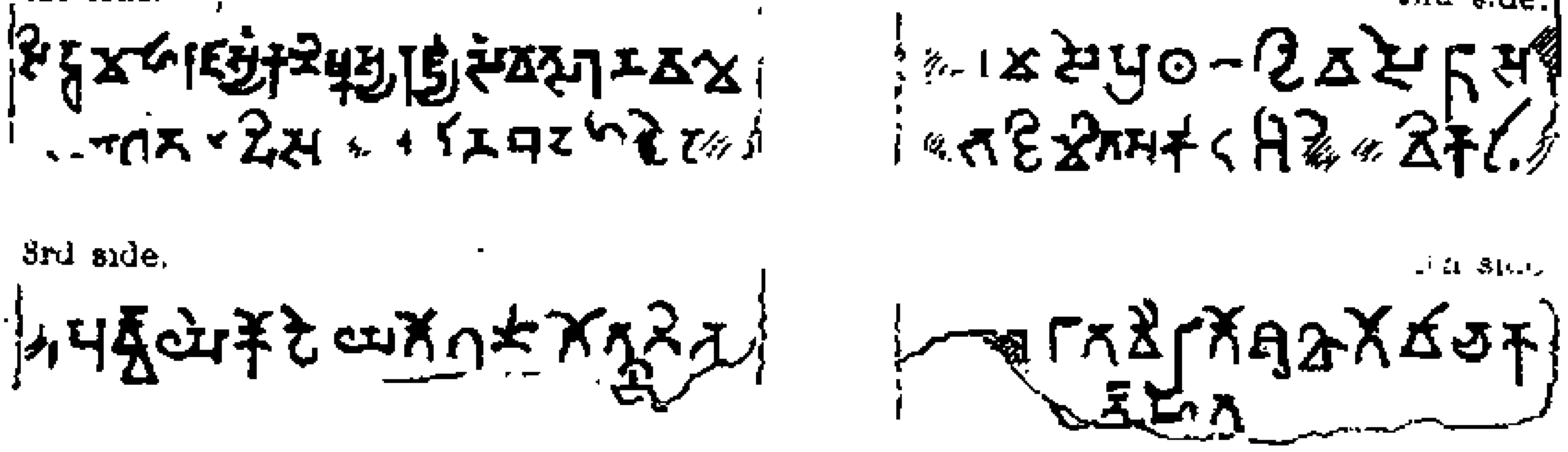

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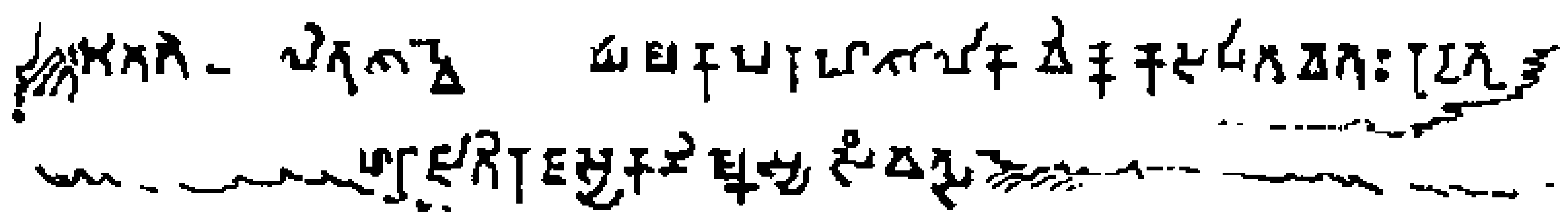

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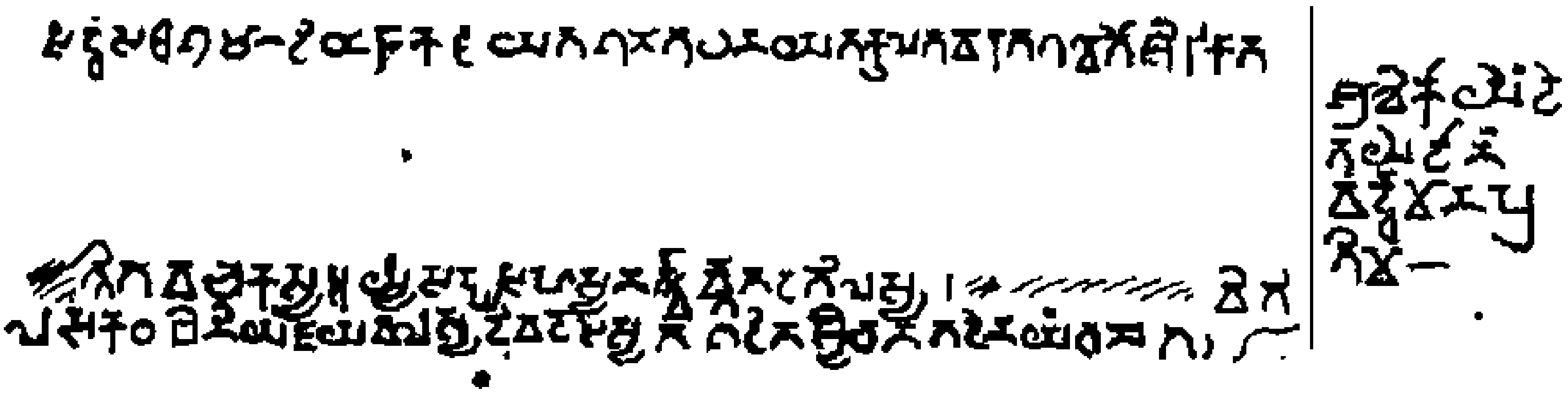

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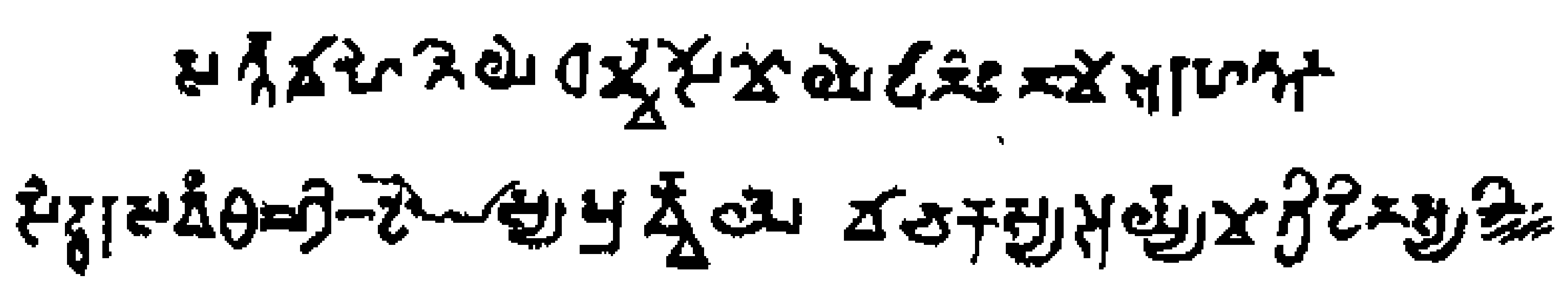

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KING HUVISHKA or HOVERKE.

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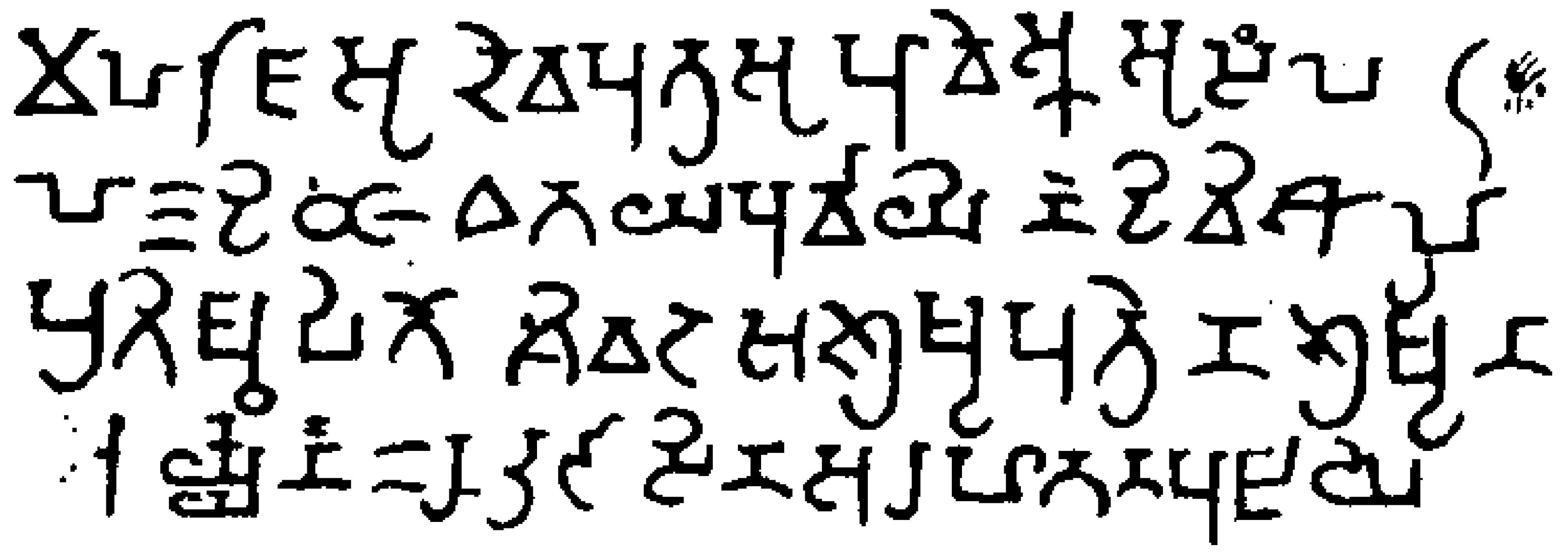
No. 9.



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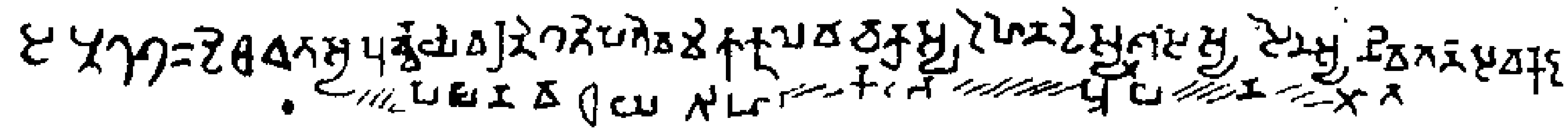

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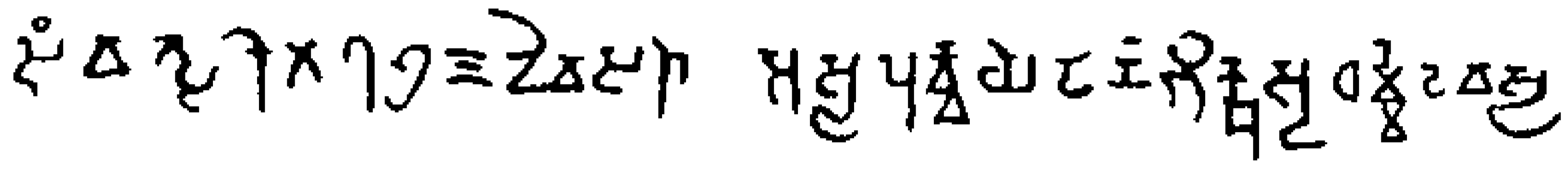

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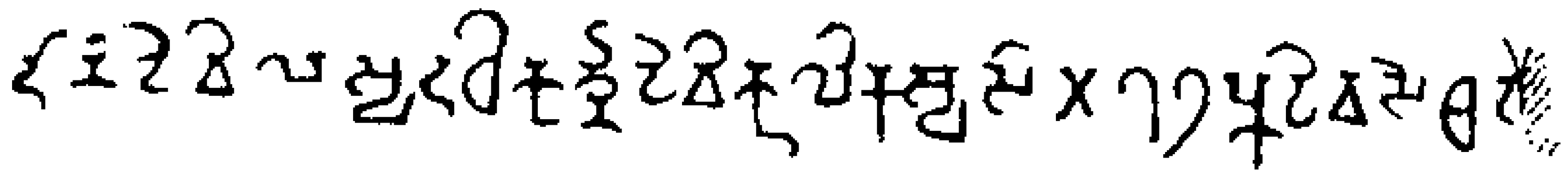

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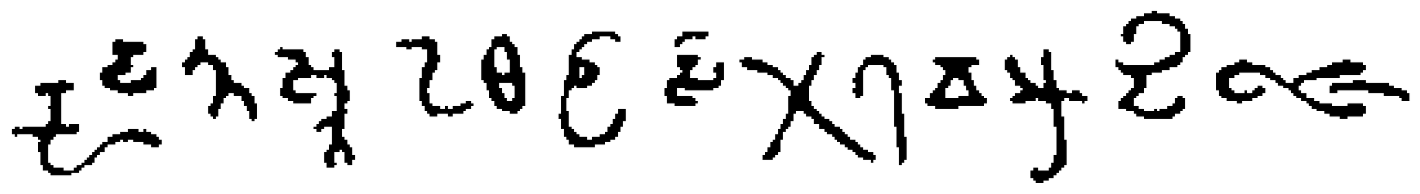

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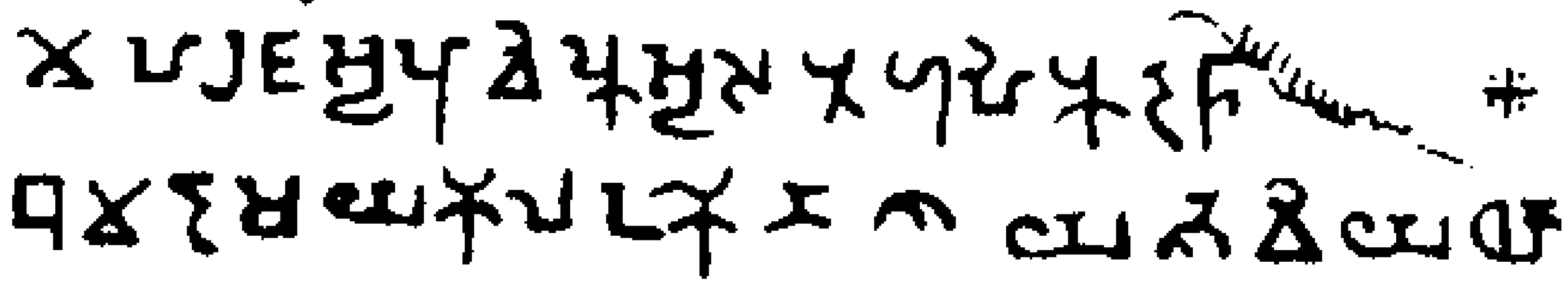

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KING VÂSU—DÊVA or BAZO-DEO.

No. 8.

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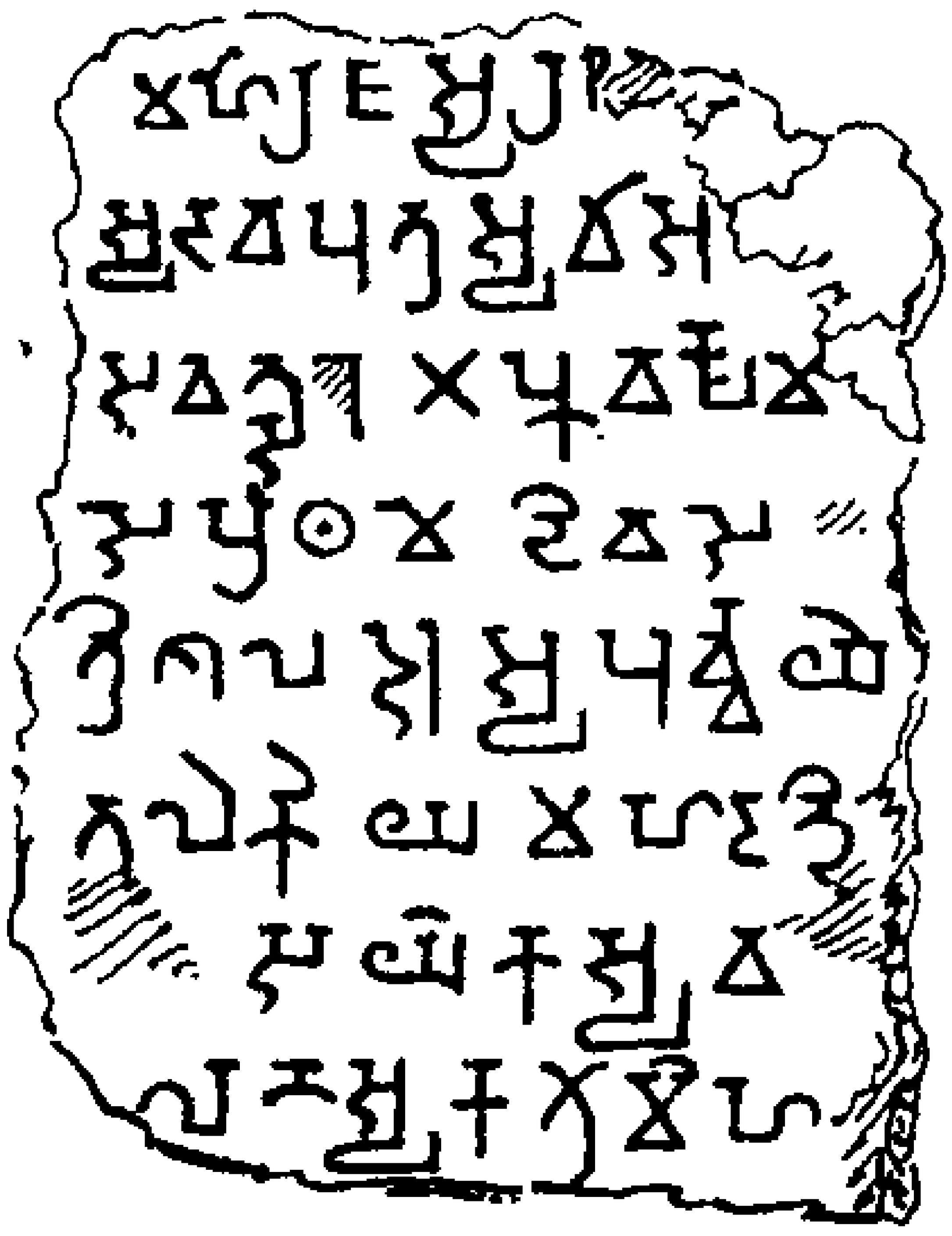

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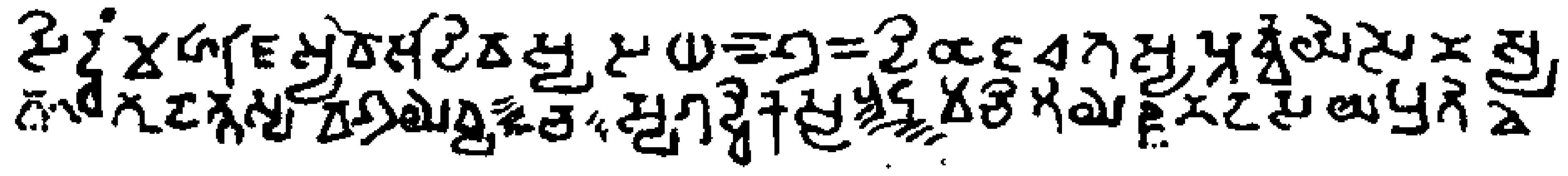
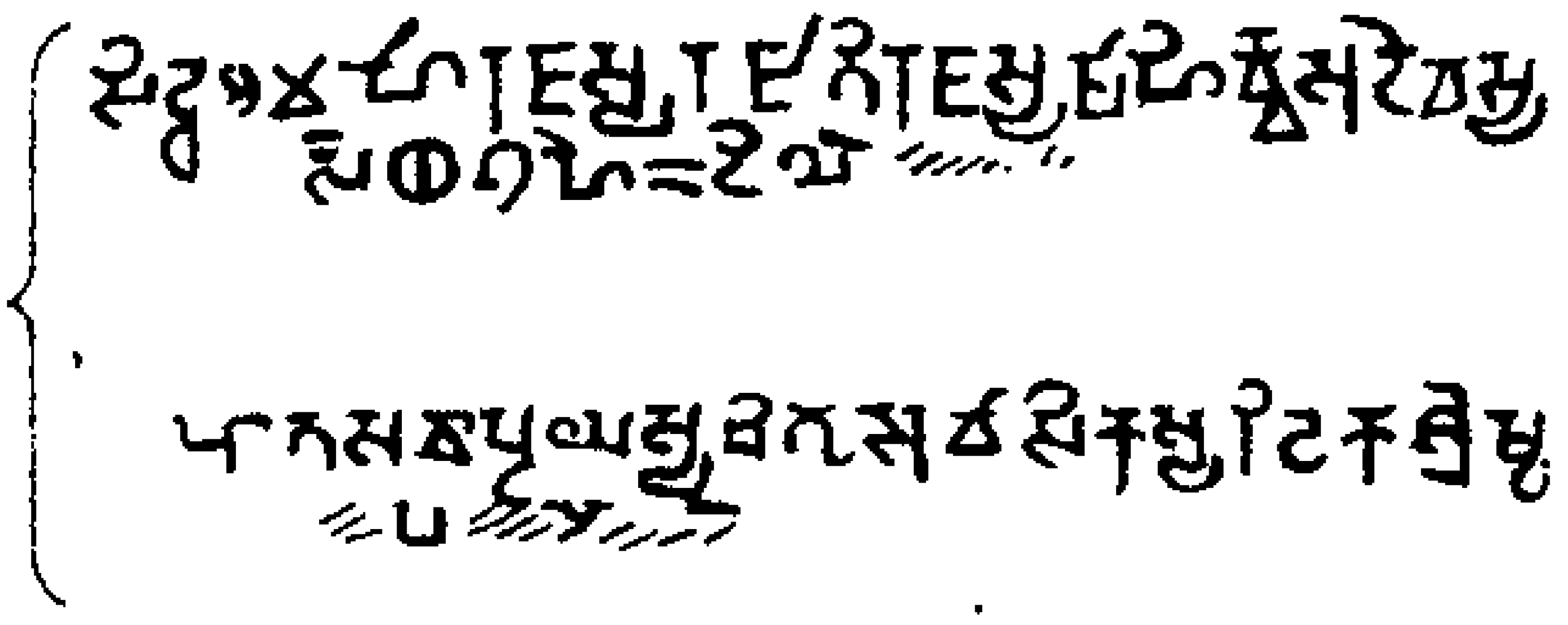


S. 83 = A. D. 26.

No. 17.

S. 87 = A. D. 30.

No. 18.



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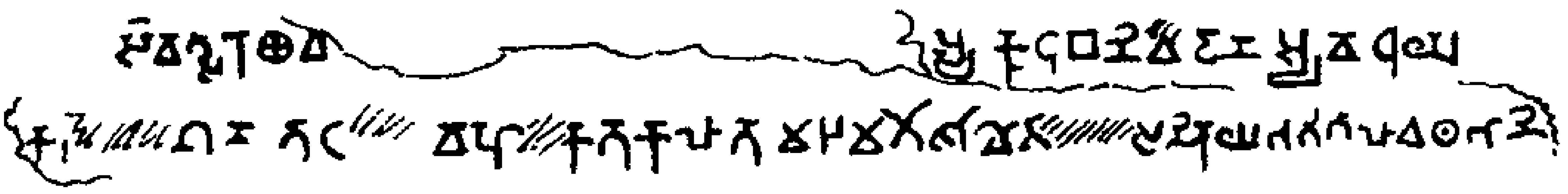

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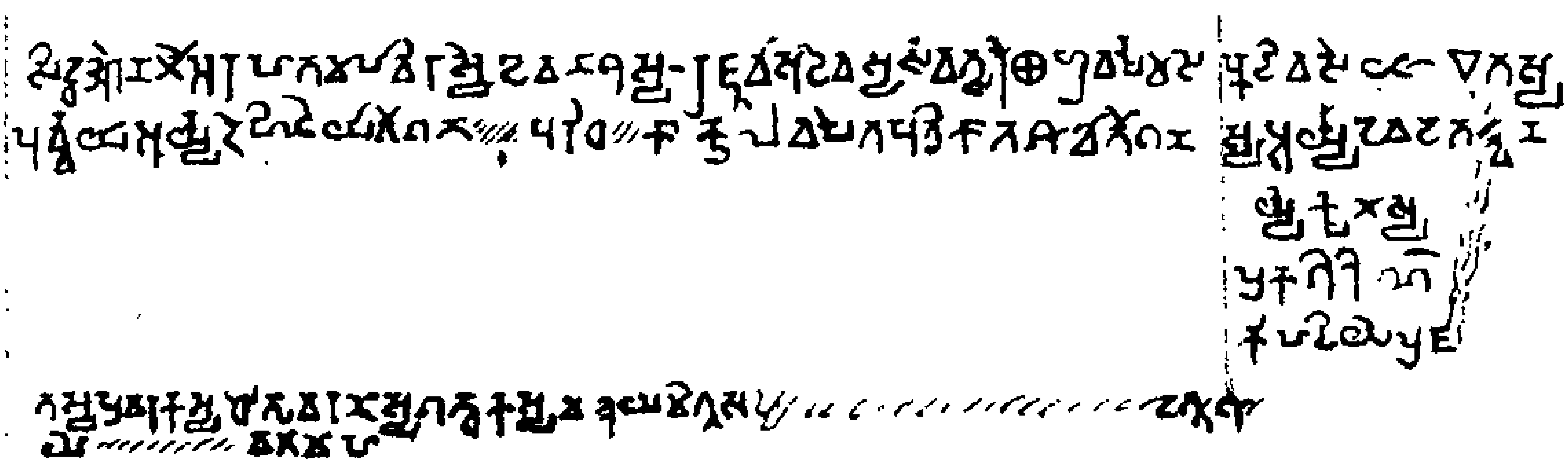
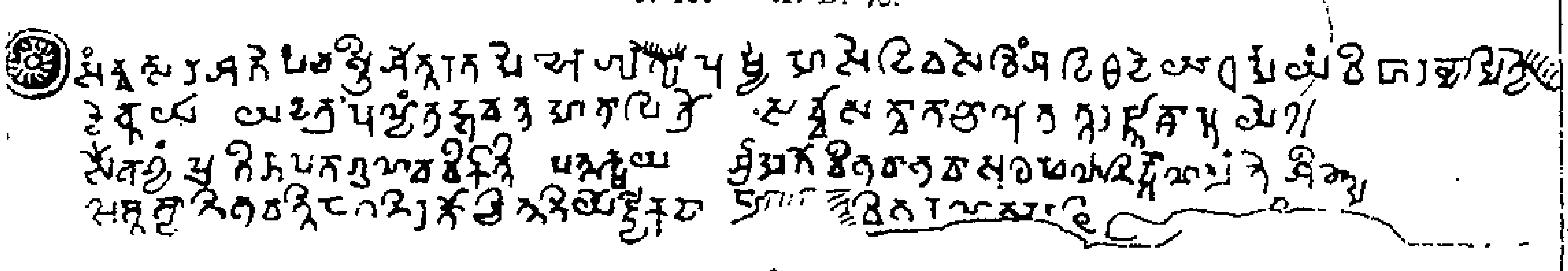


A. Cunningham, del. Litho. at the Survr. Genl's. Office, Cal. Sept. 1873.

No. 21.

No. 22. S. 135 = A. D. 78.



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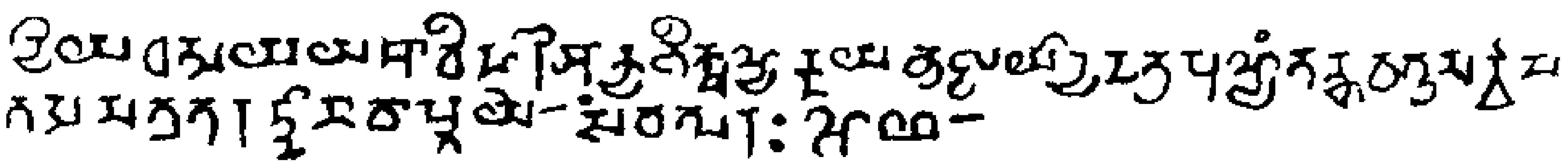
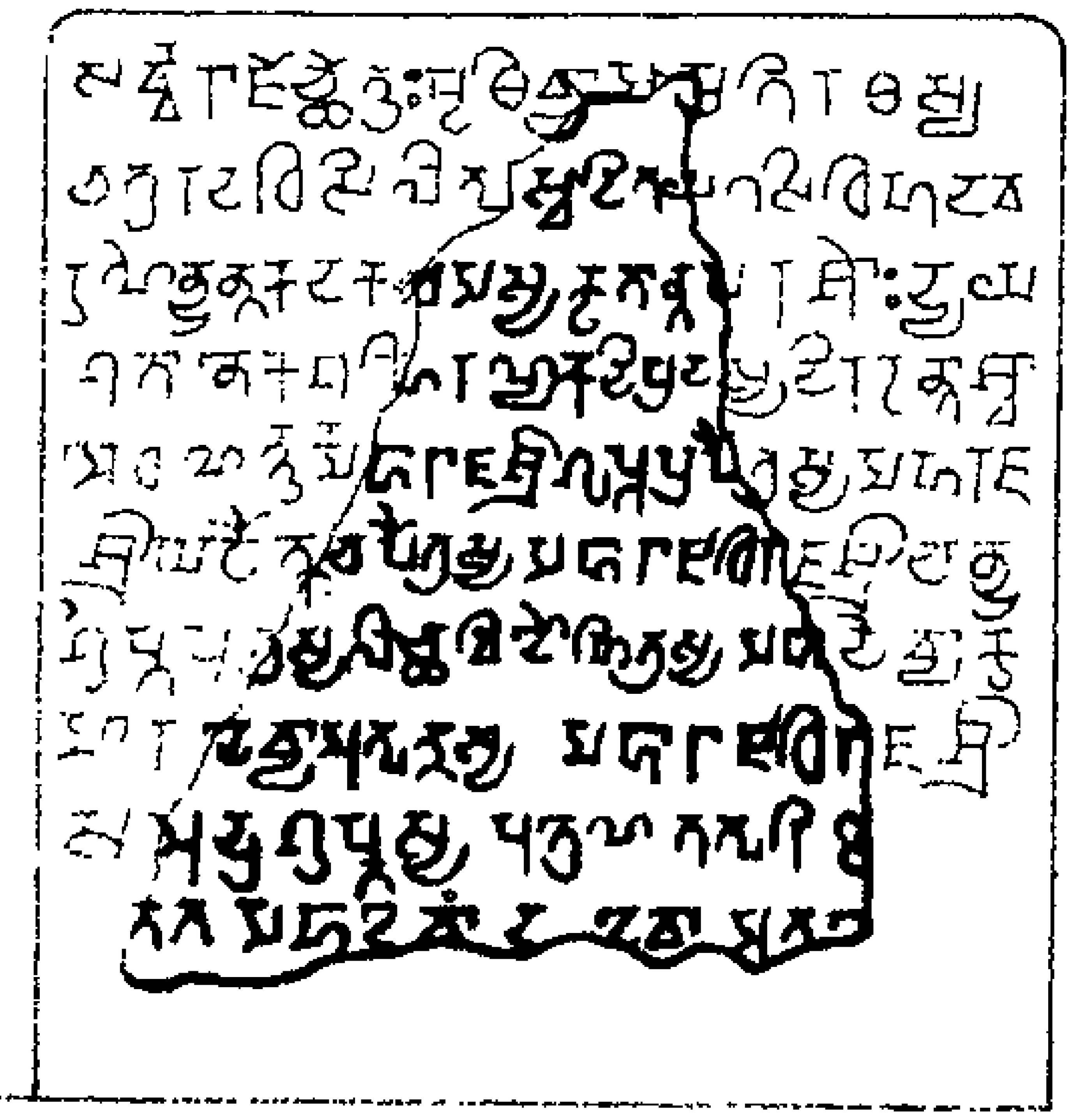


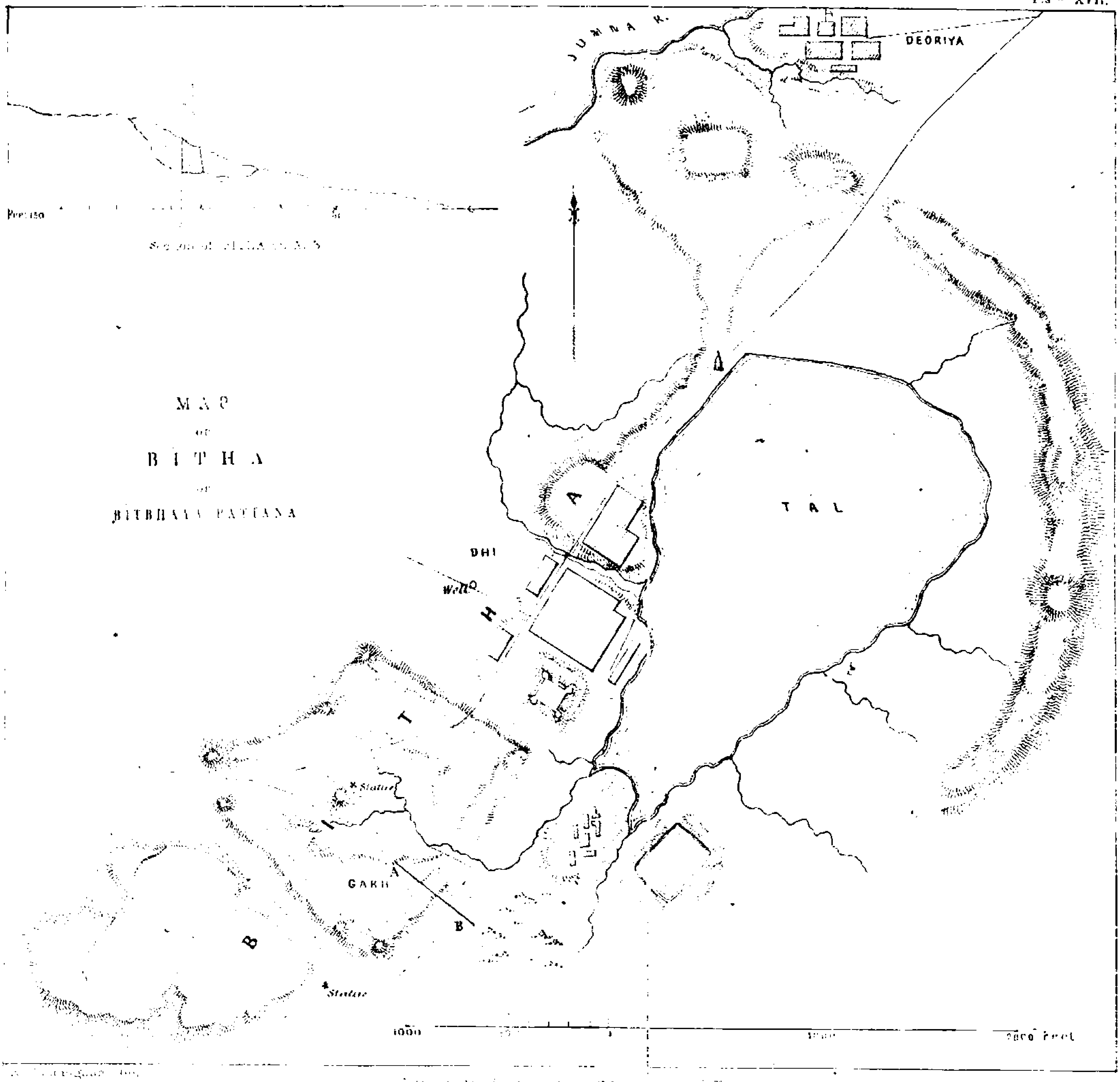
Circa A. D. 150.

No. 24.

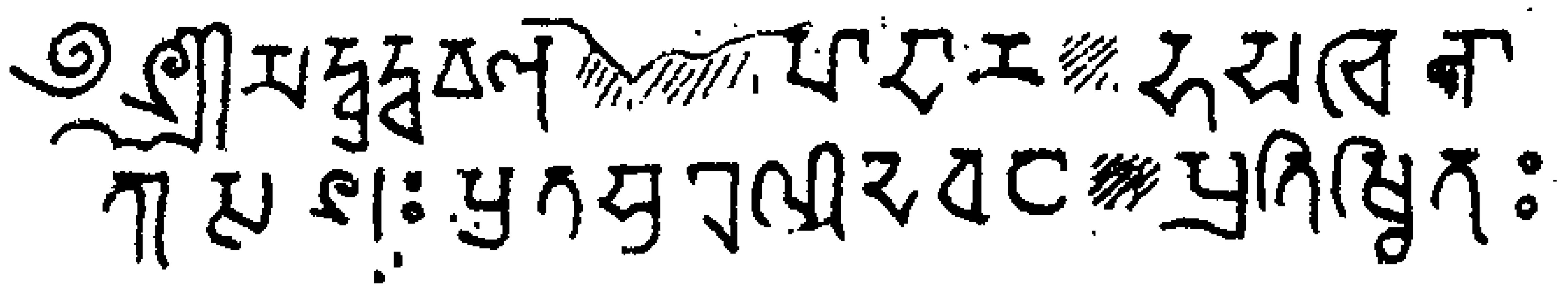


A. Cunningham, del.

Litho. at the Surv. Genl's. Office, Cal. Sept. 1873.


JUMNA R.
DEORIYA
MAP
OF
B I T H A
OR
BITBHAYA PATTANA
DHI
Well
B H I T H A
TAL
GARH
A
B
Statue
Statue
1000
2000 Feet

A



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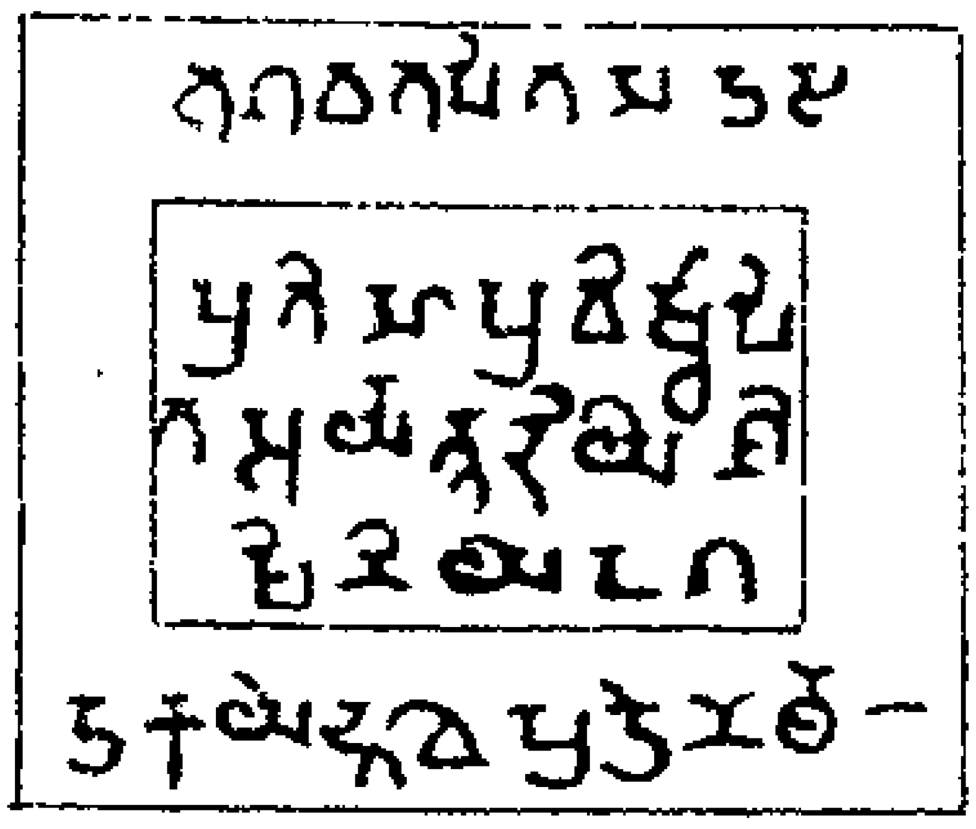

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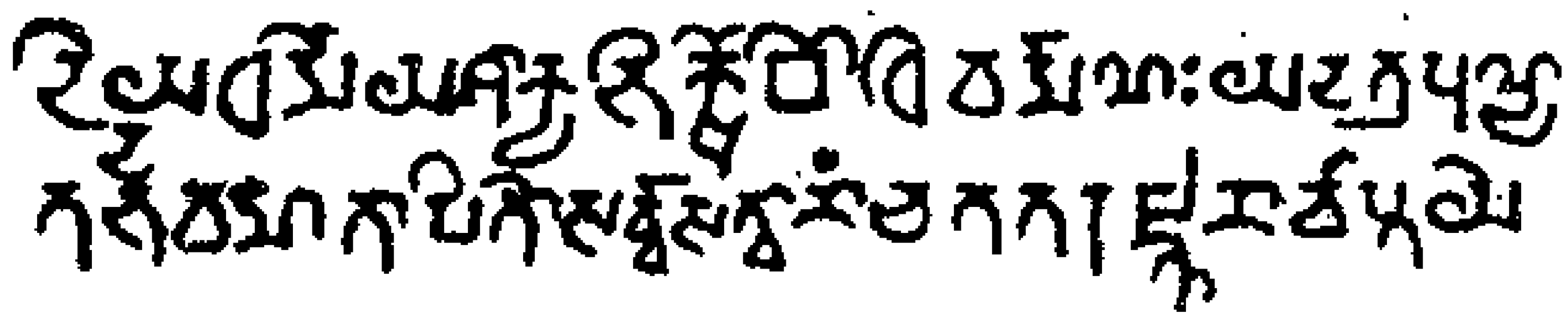

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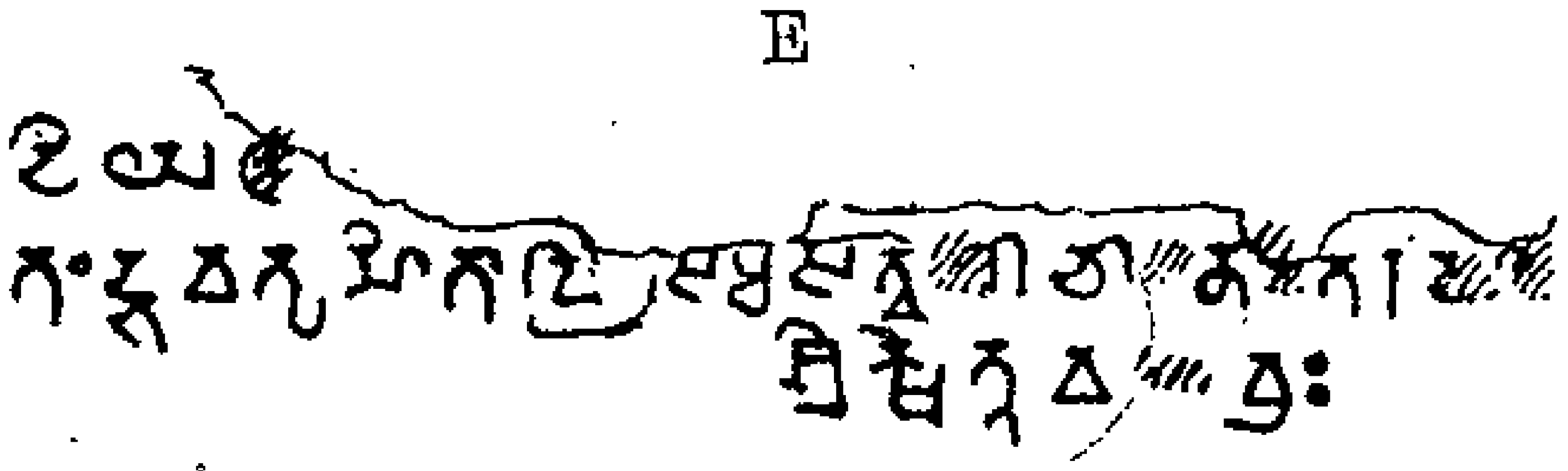

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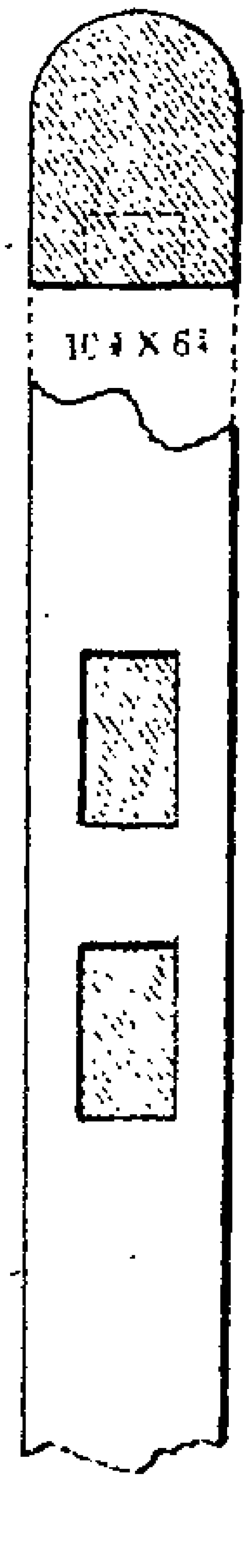
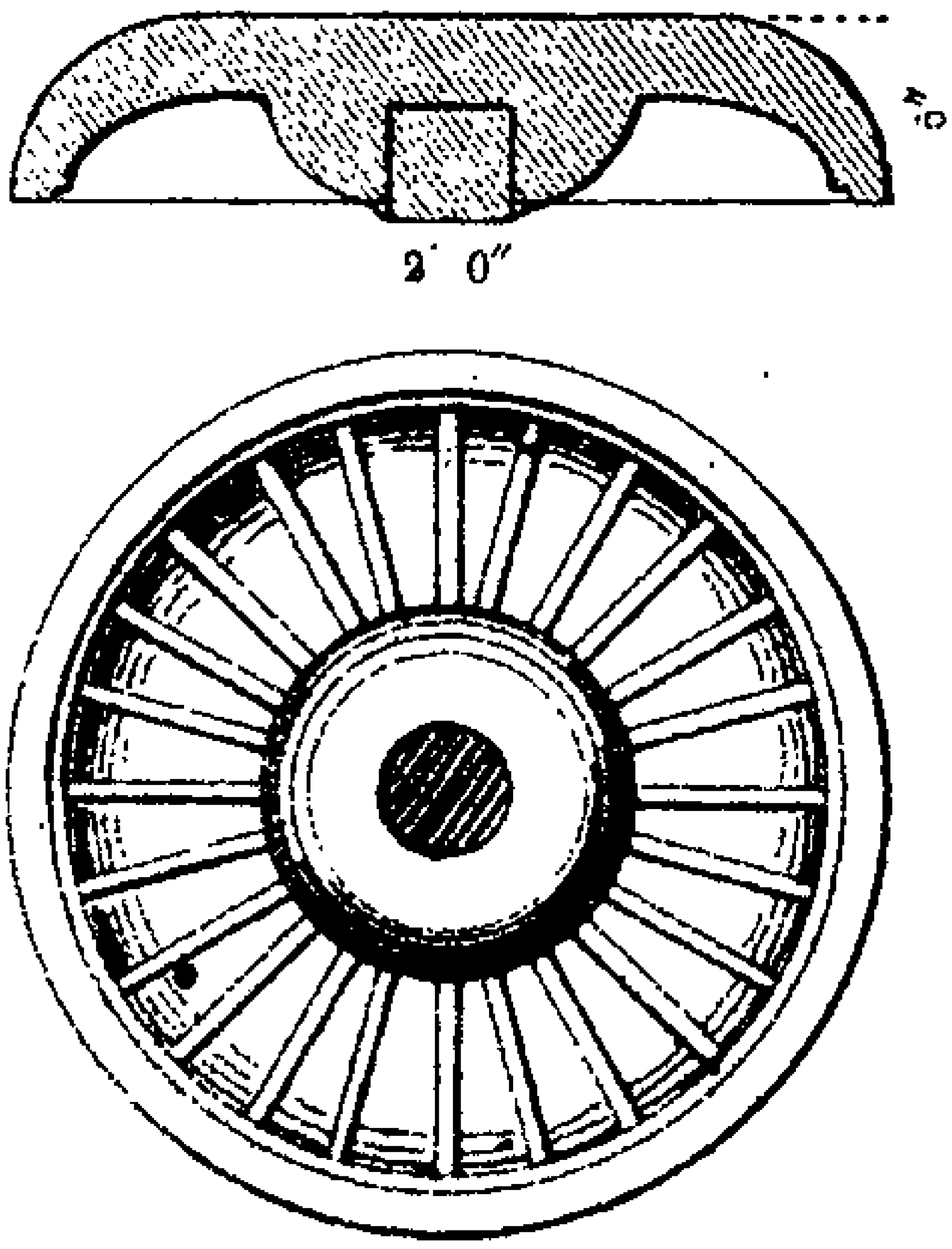


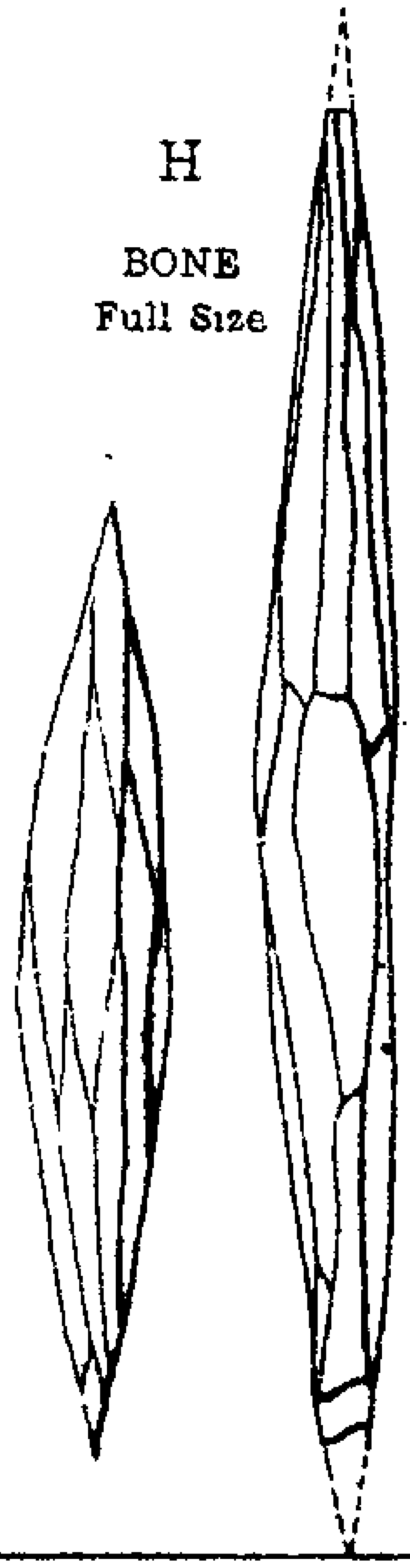
G

STONE UMBRELLA



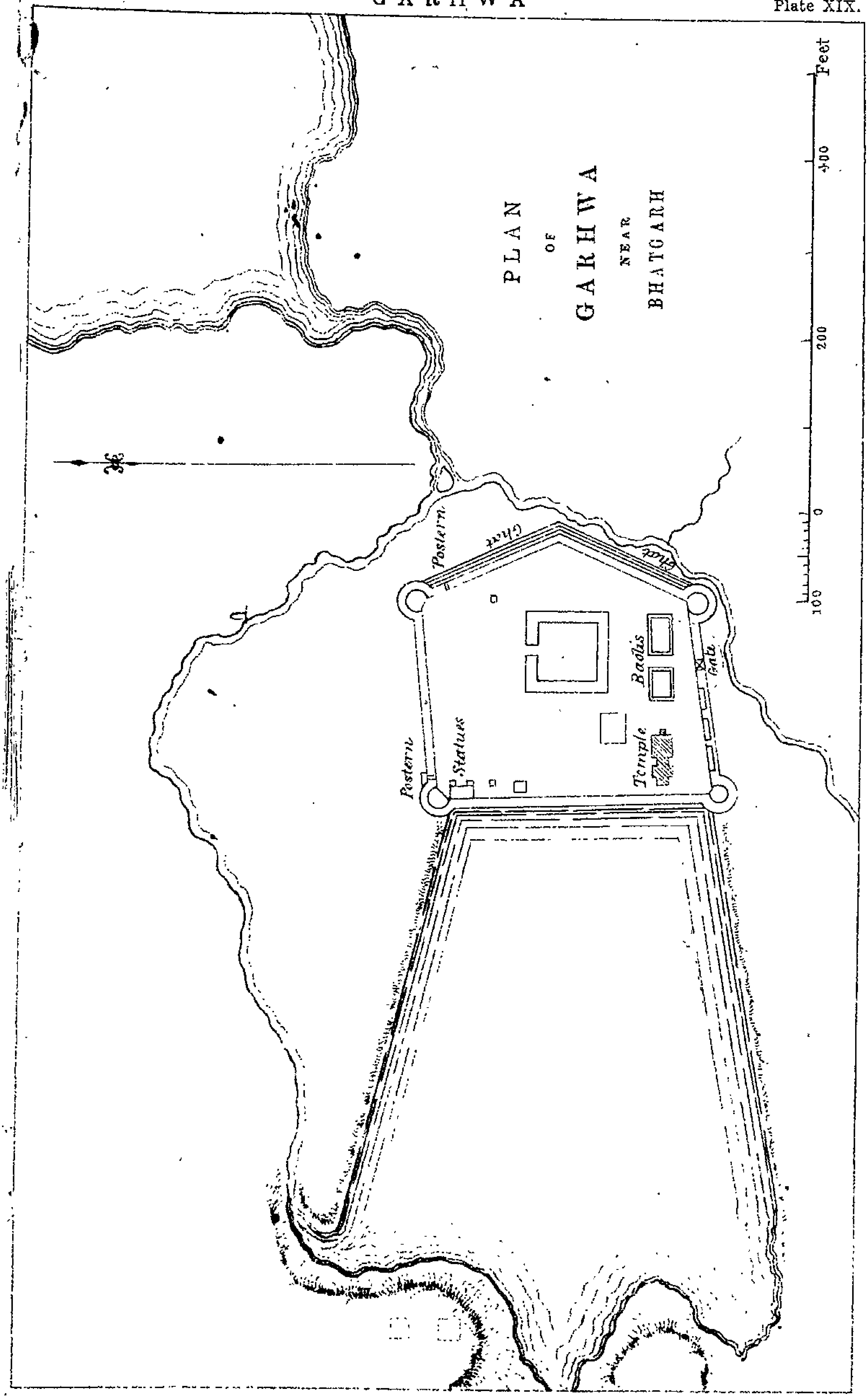
H

BONE
Full Size



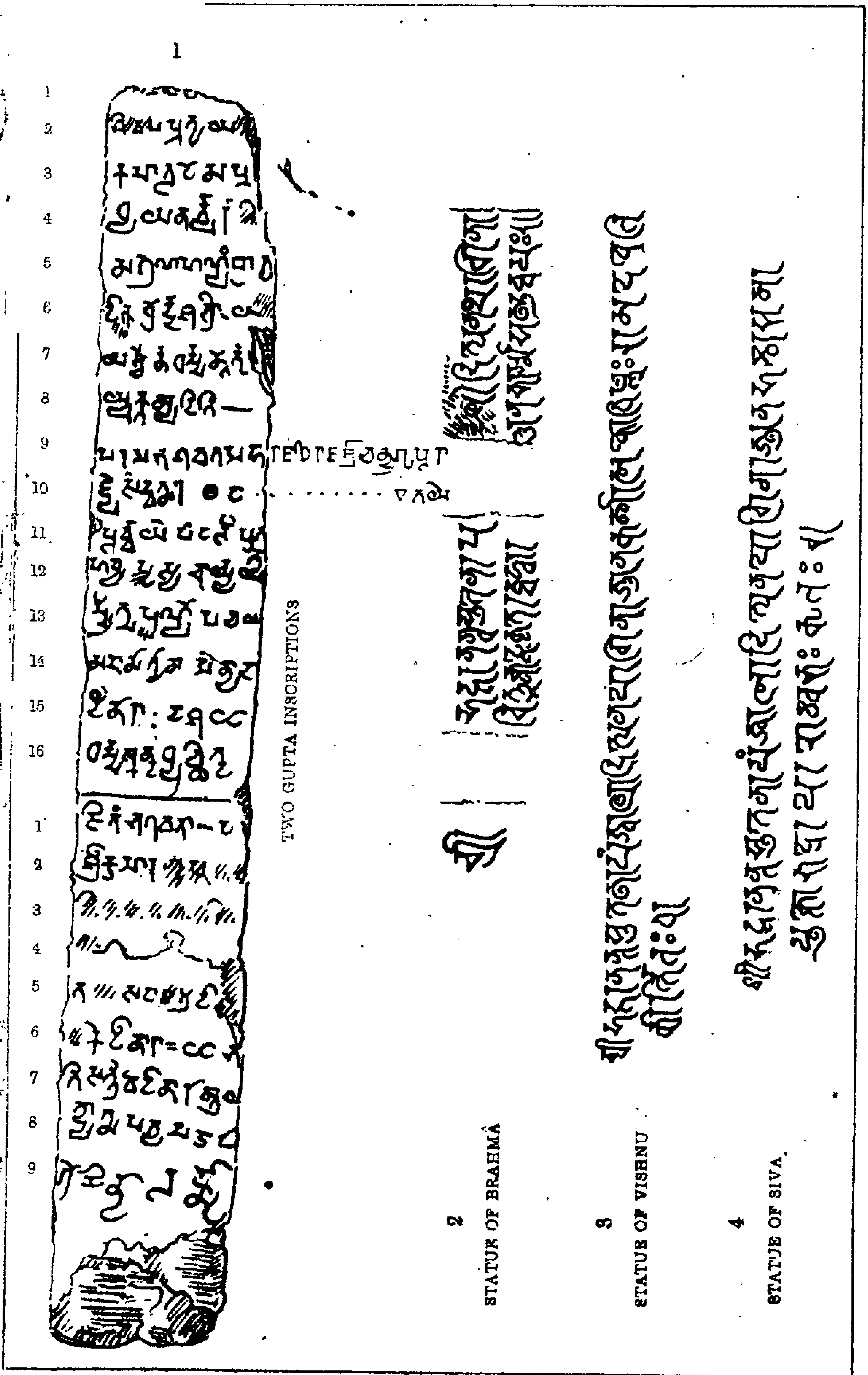
A. Cunningham, del.

Photozincographed at the Surveyor General's Office, Calcutta



A. Cunningham, del.

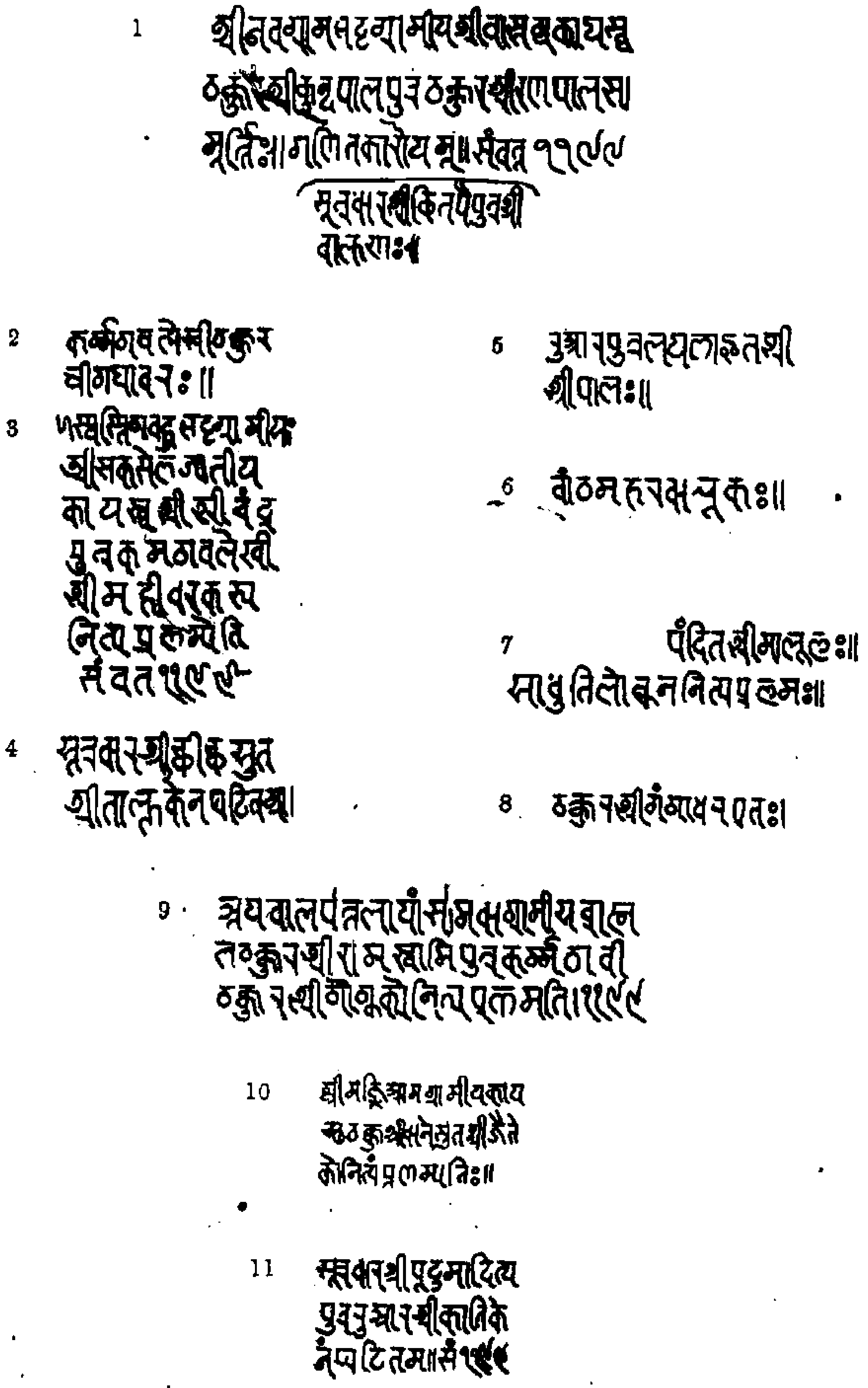
Litho. at the Survr. Genl's. Office, Cal. Nov. 1873.



A. Cunningham, del.

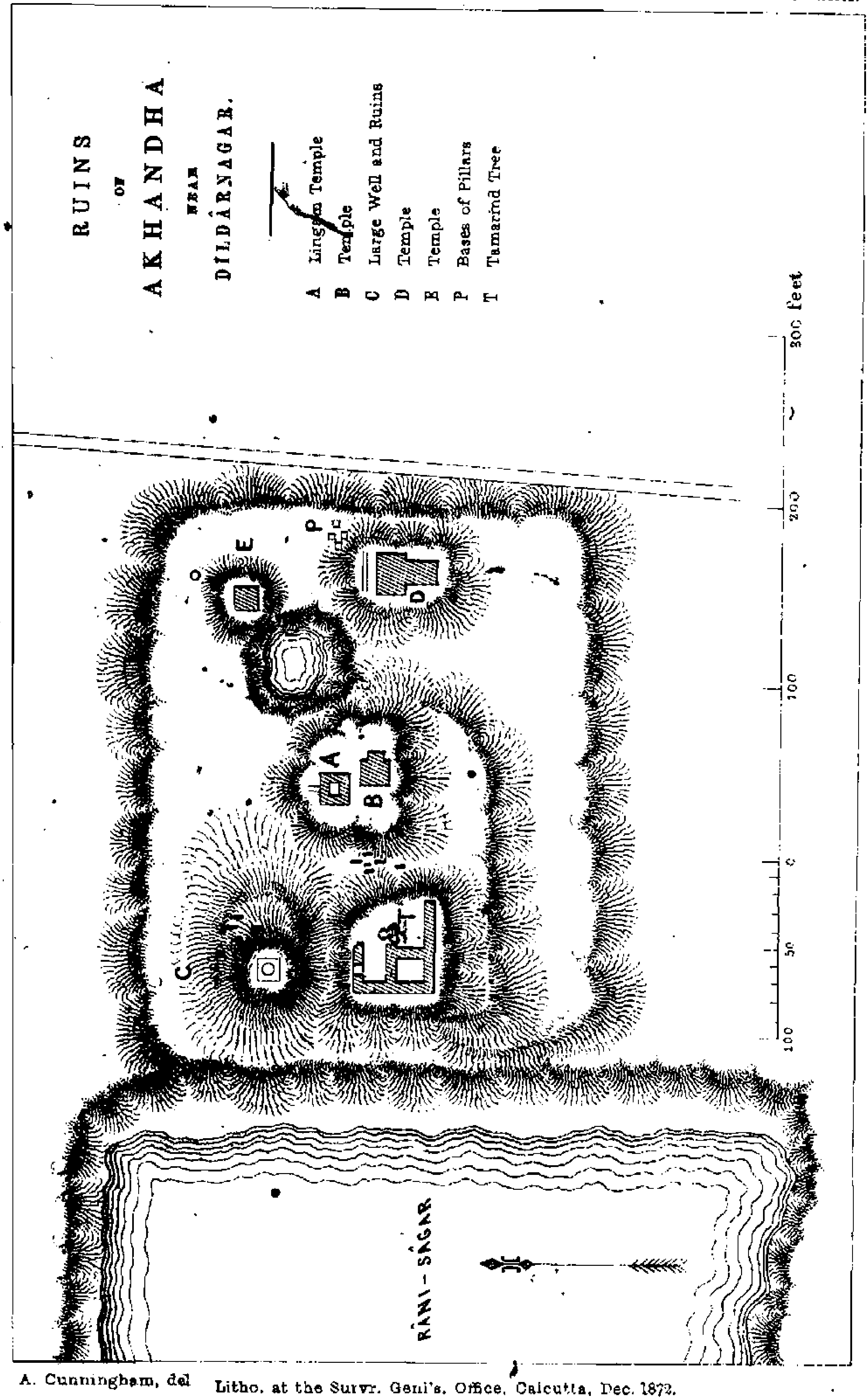
Photozincographed at the Surveyor General's Office, Calcutta.

INSCRIPTIONS ON TEMPLE PILLARS
Under Male Figure

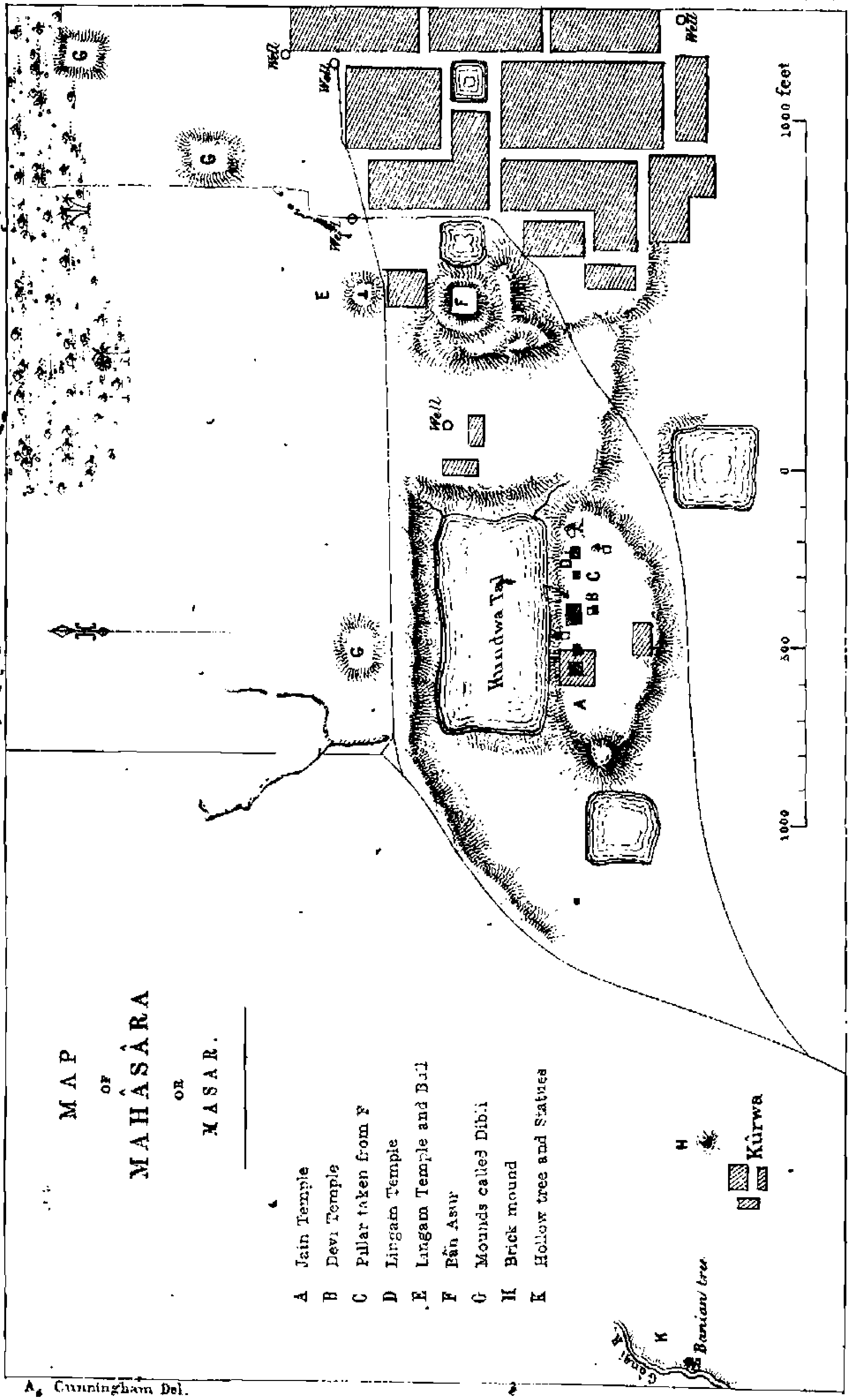


A. Cunningham, del.

Photozincographed at the Surveyor General's Office Calcutta.



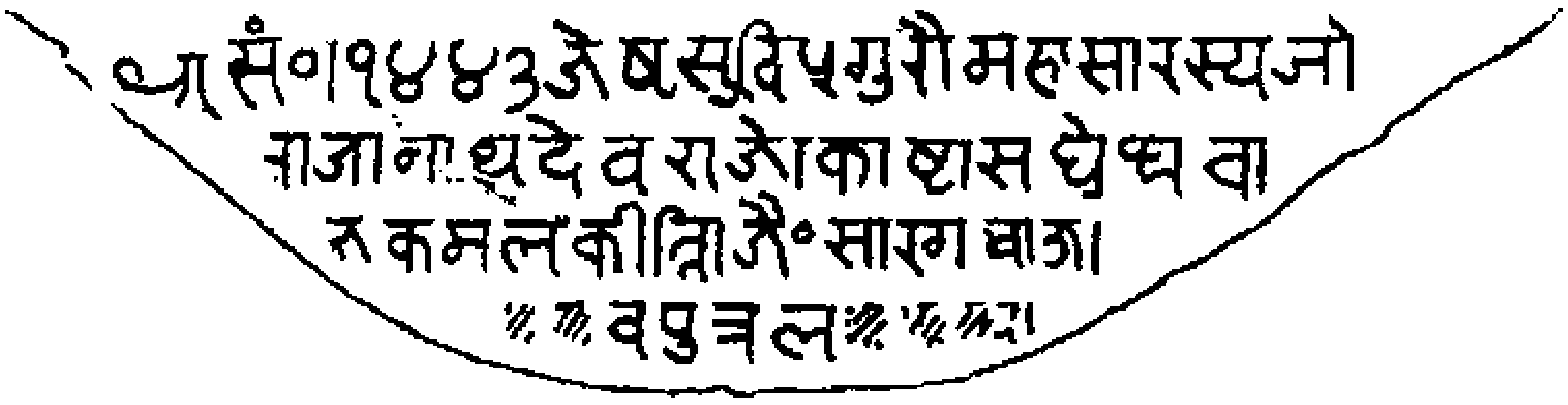
A. Cunningham, del   Litho. at the Survr. Genl's. Office, Calcutta, Dec. 1872.



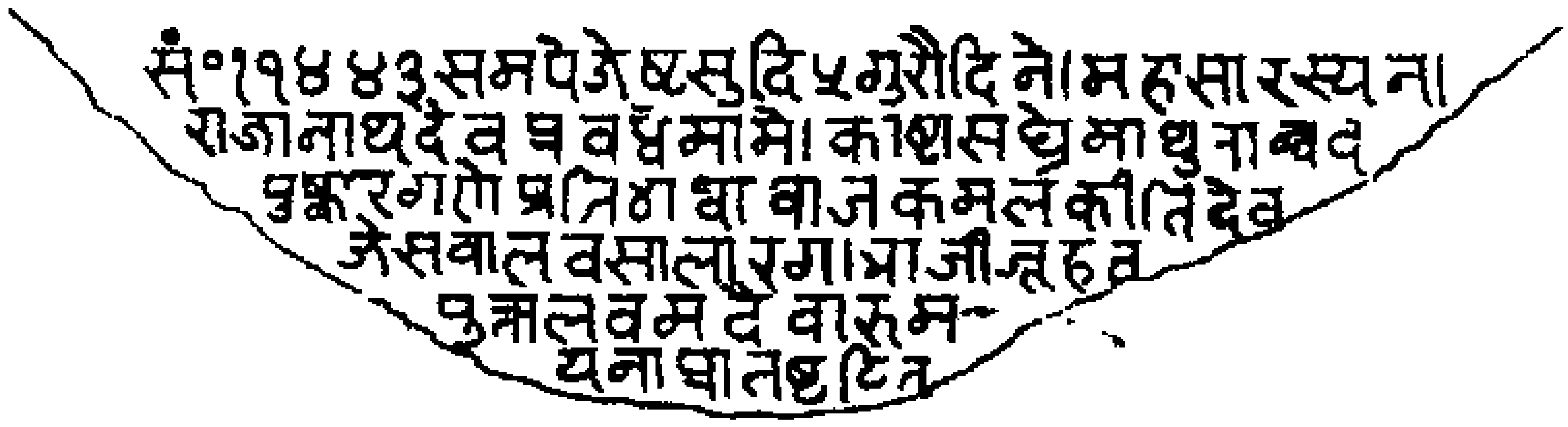
A. Cunningham Del.

Litho. at the Survr. Genl's. Office, Cal. Nov. 1874.

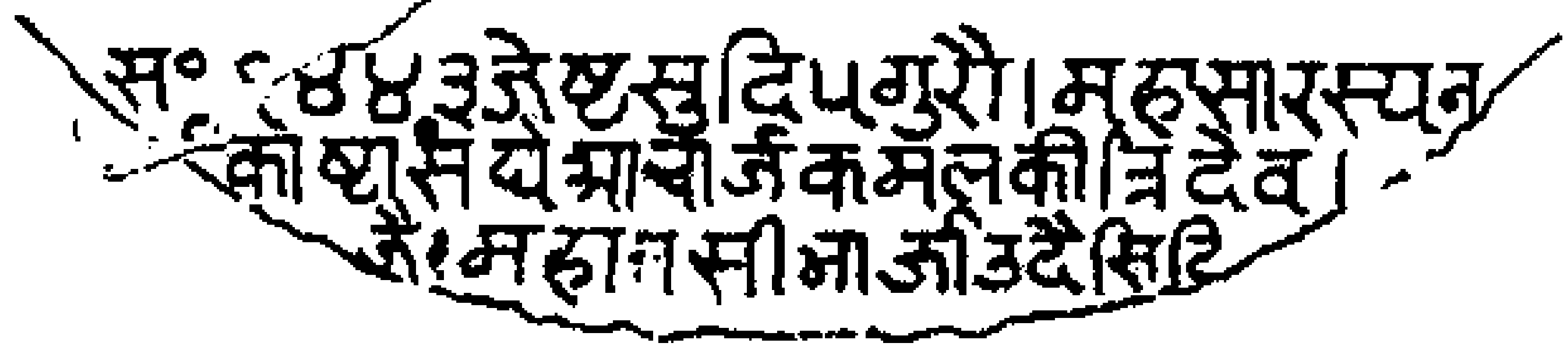
1. Image of Adinâth



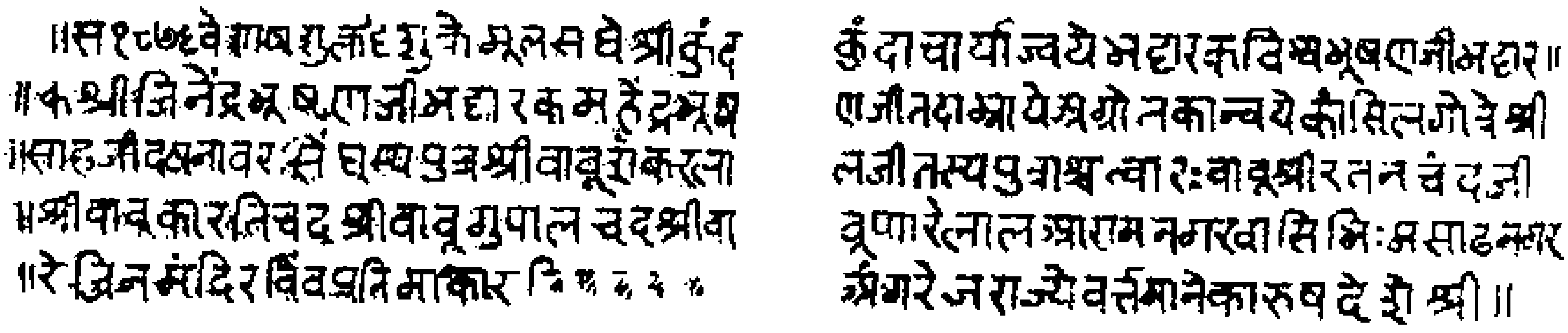
2. Symbol lost

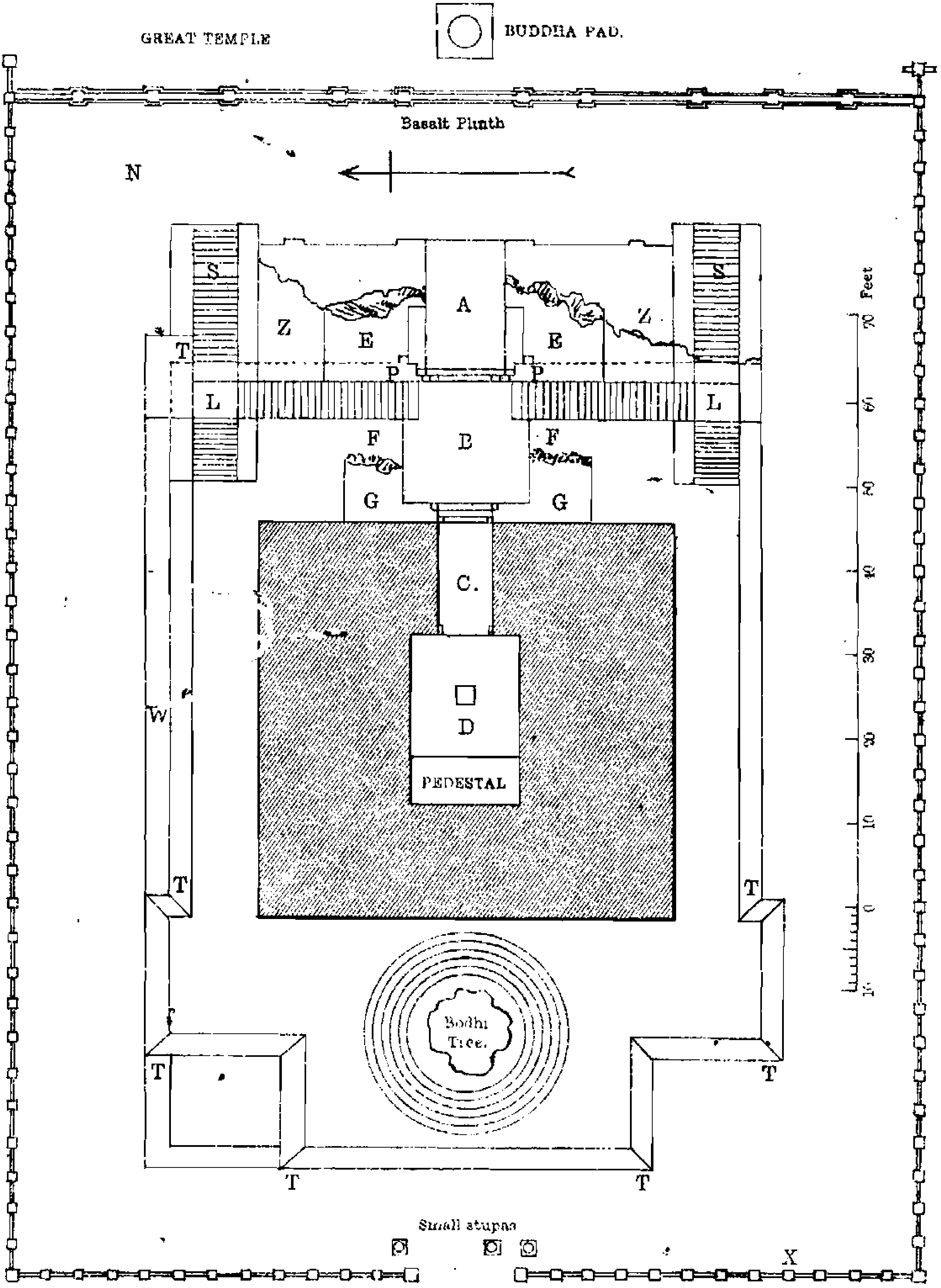


3. Image of Neminâth



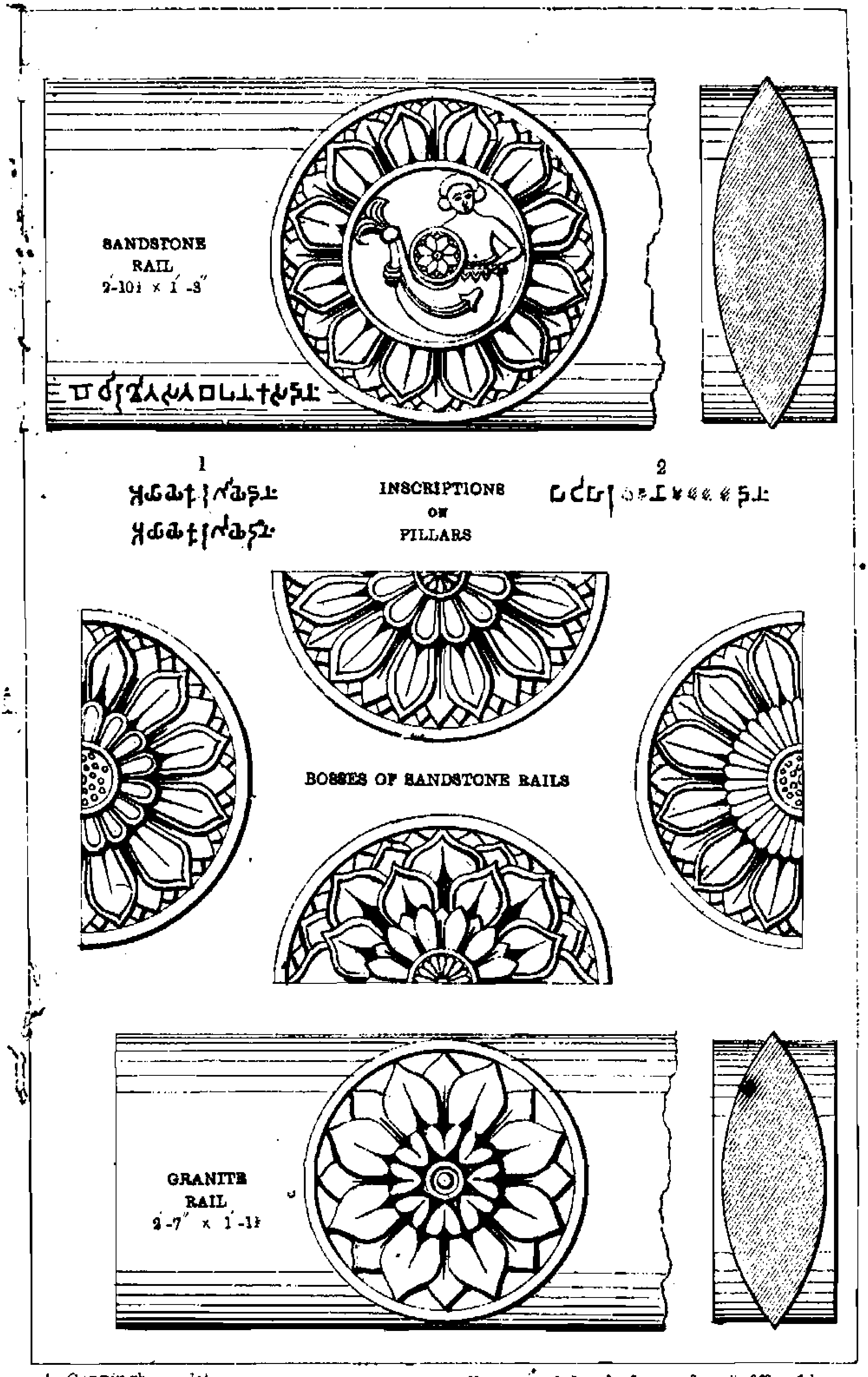
4. Image of Pârswanâth





A. Cunningham, del.

Photozincographed at the Surveyor General's Office Calcutta.



A Cunningham, del.

Photozincographed at the Surveyor General's Office Calcutta.

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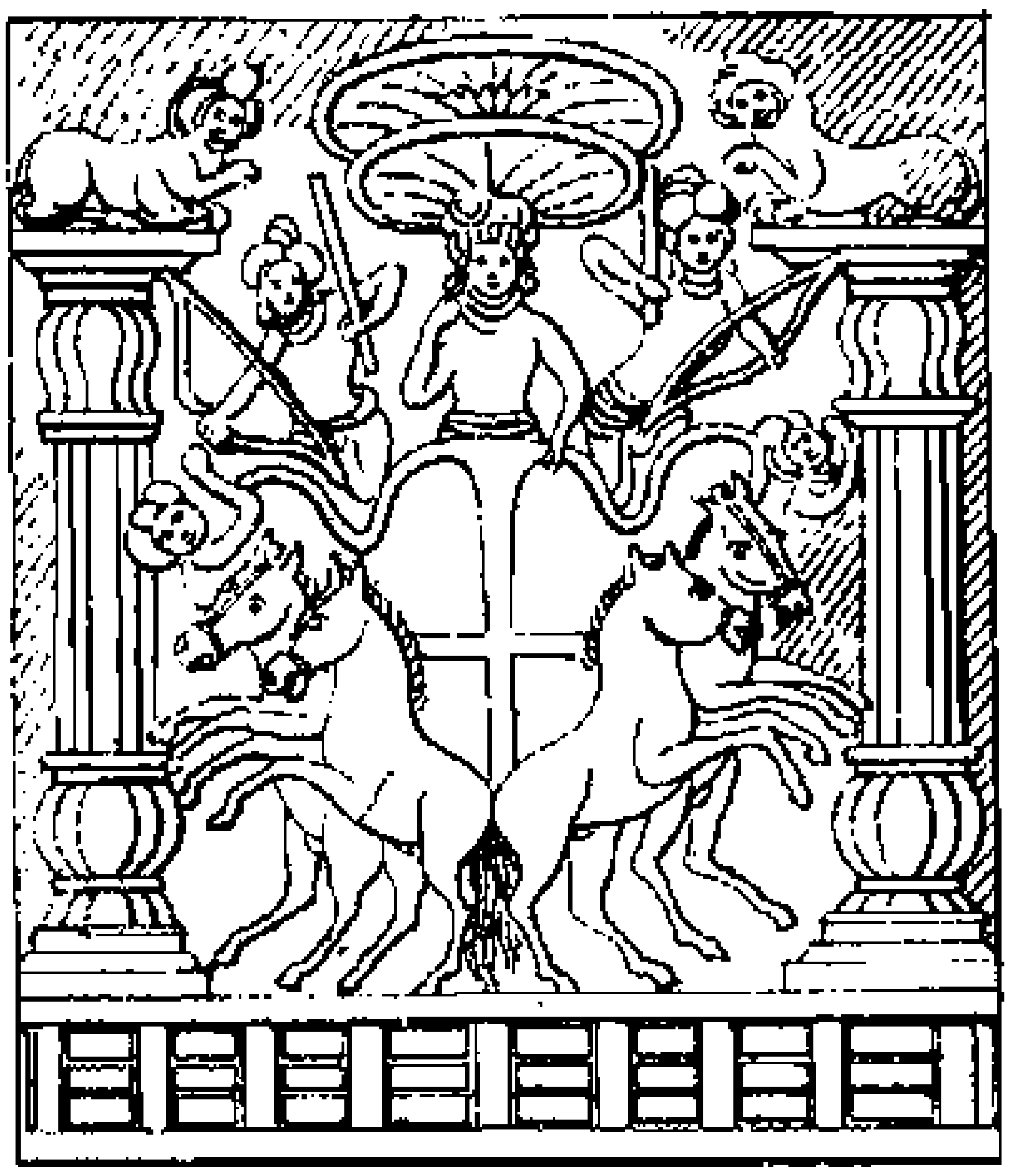

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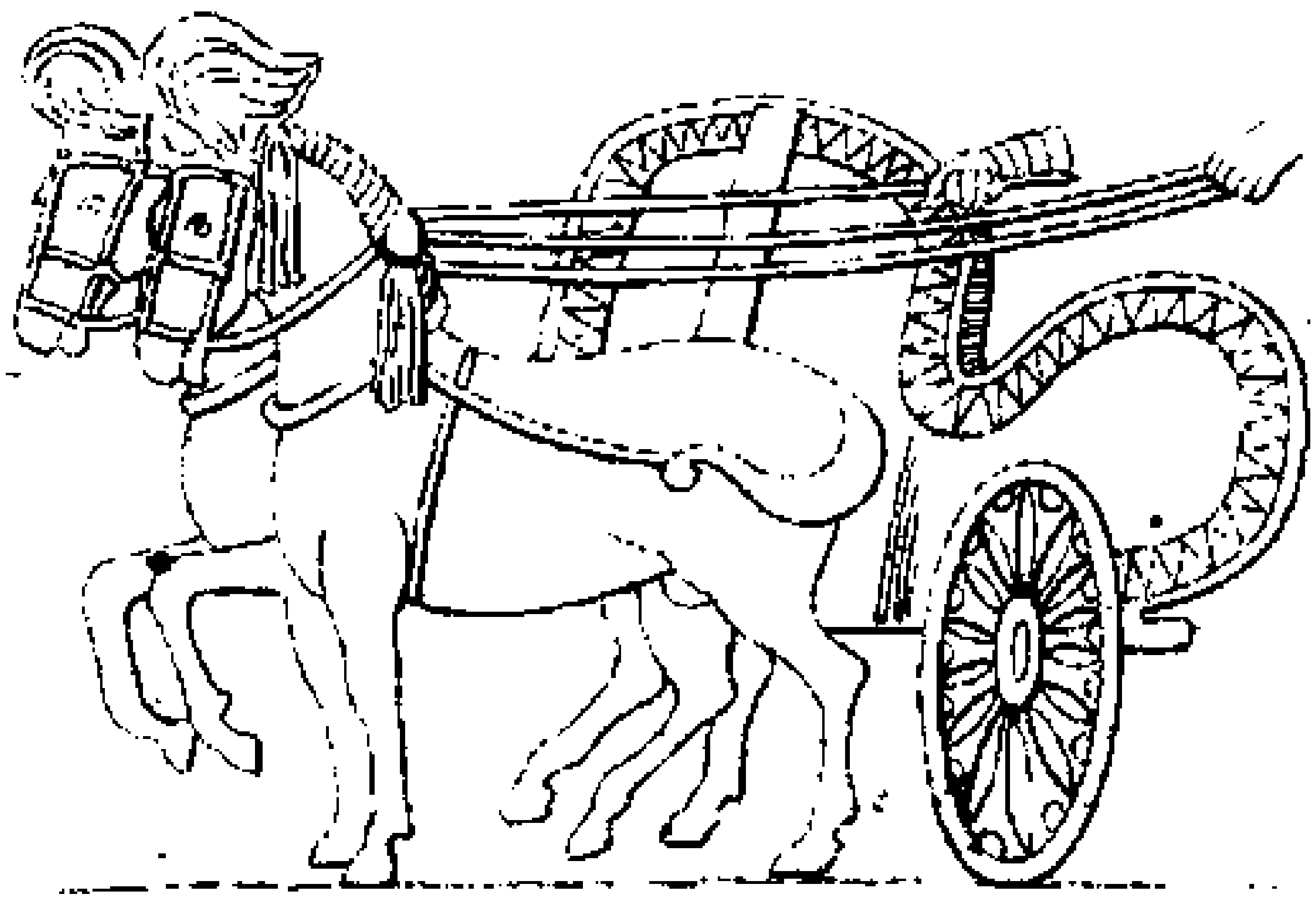
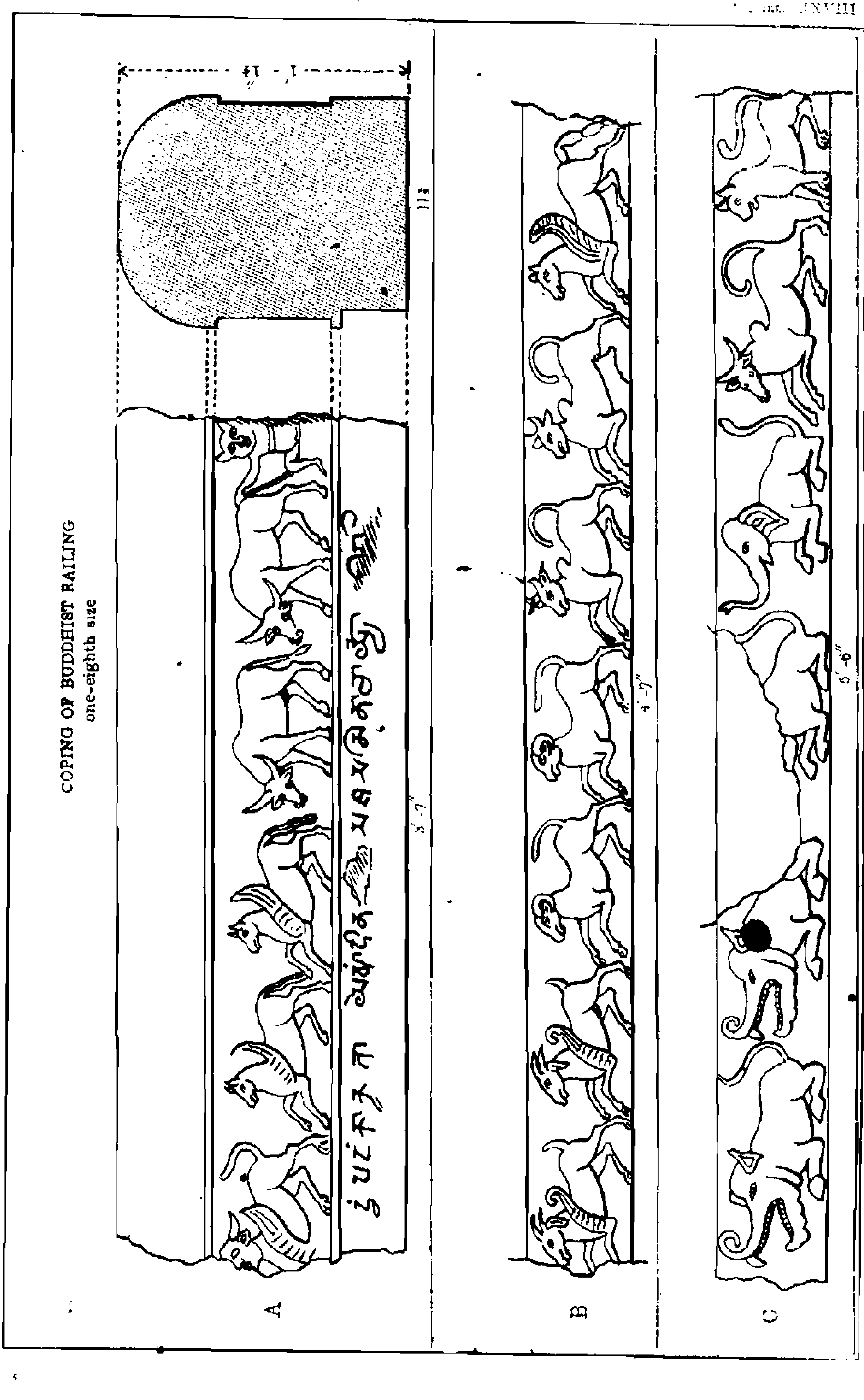


A. Cunningham, del. Litho. at the Survr. Genl's Office Cal. Nov. 1872.

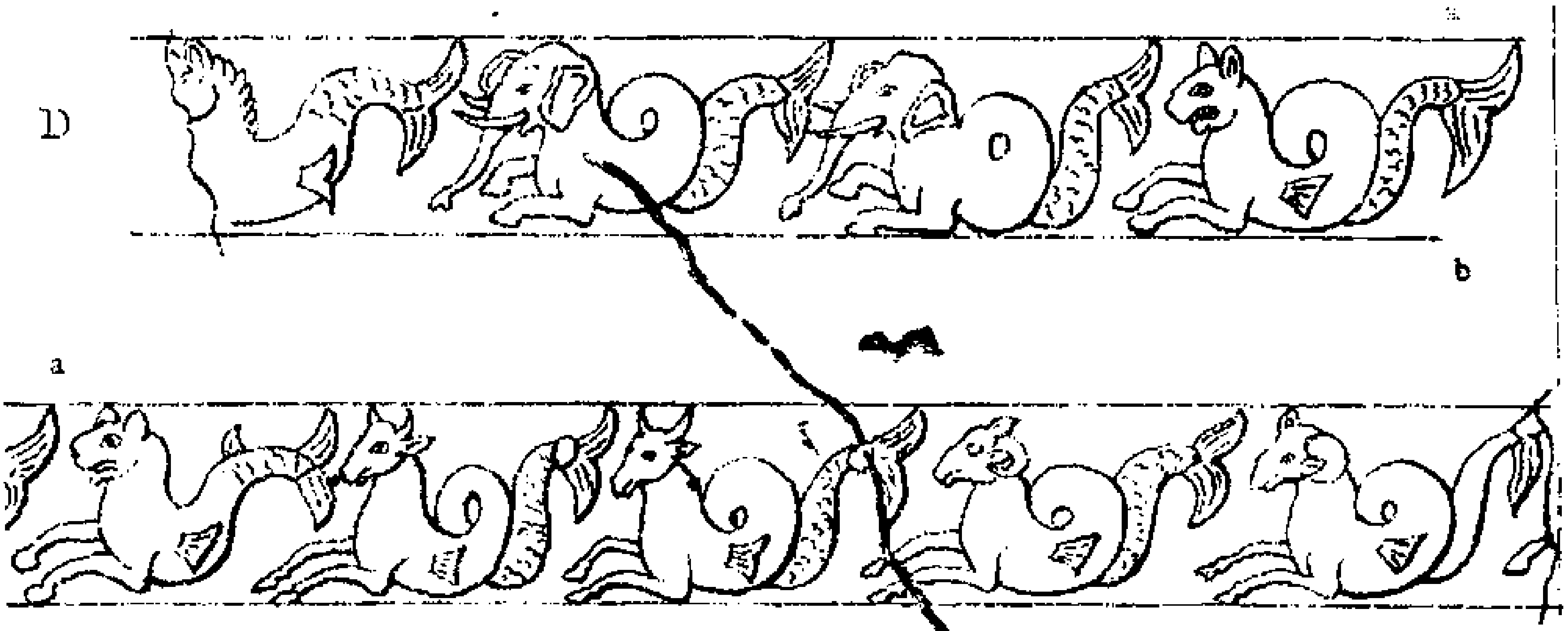


A. Cunningham, del.

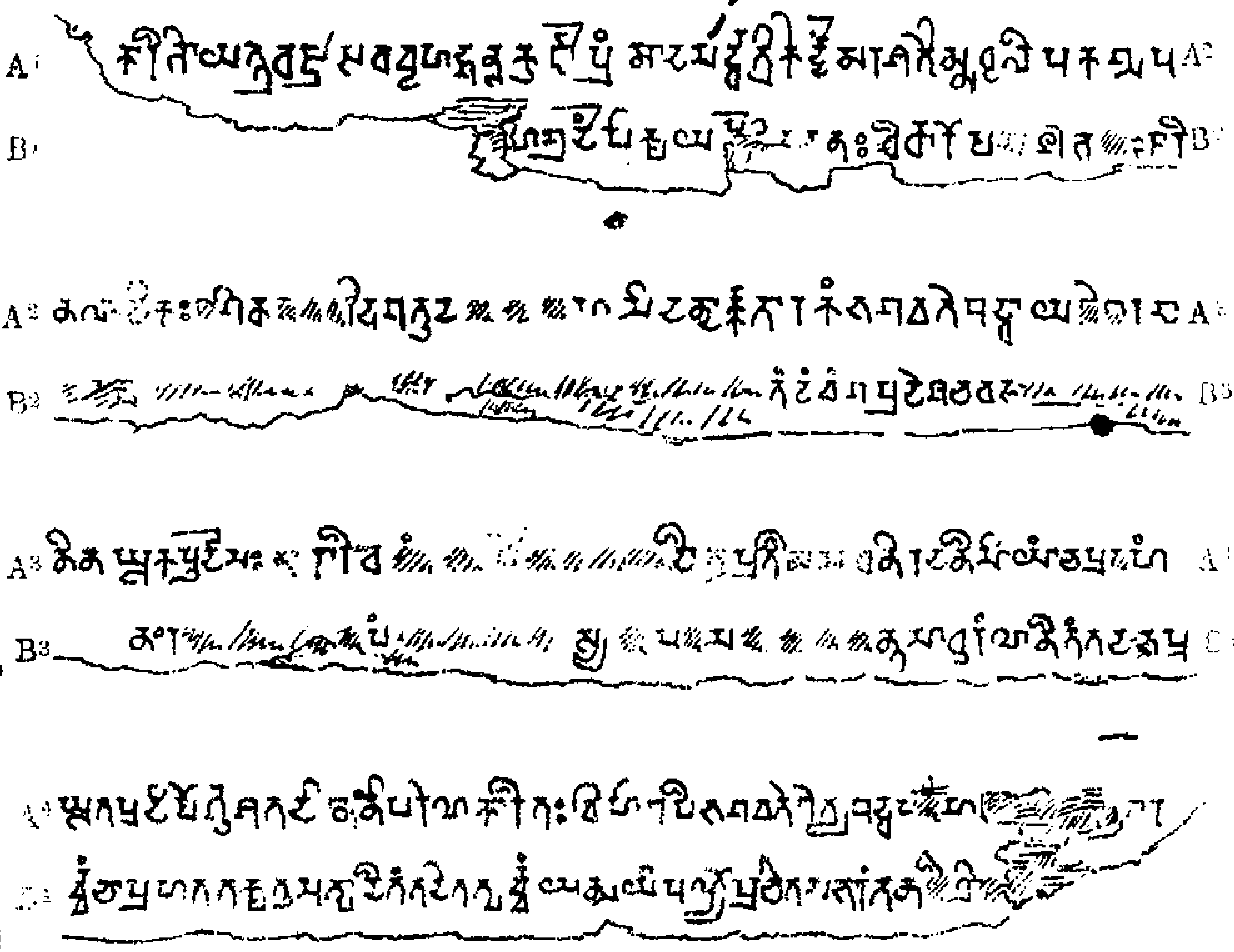
Photozincographed at the Surveyor General's Office Calcutta.

COPING OF BUDDHIST RAILING

one-eighth size



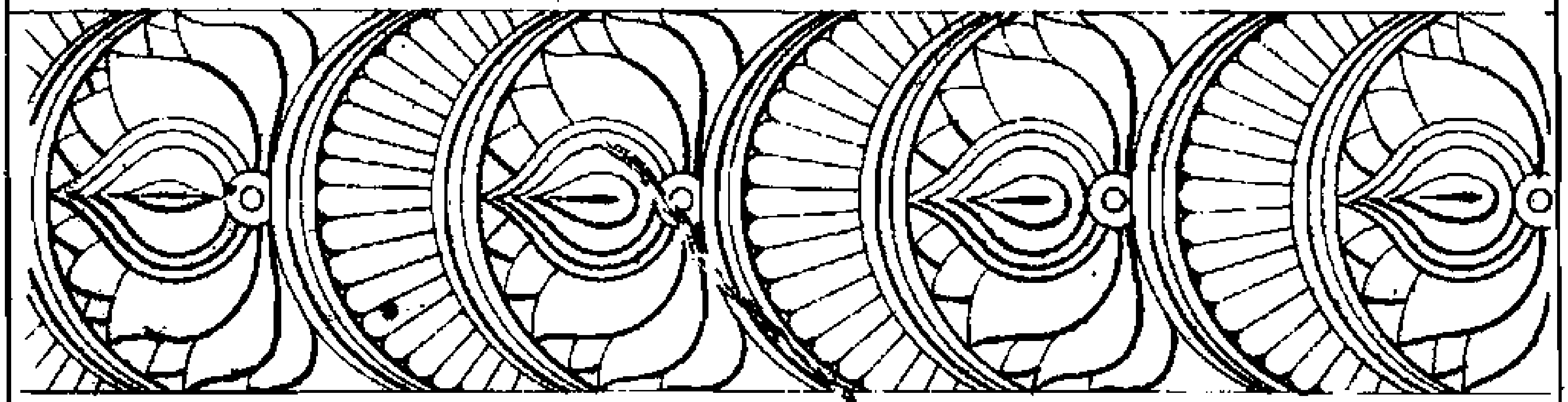
INSCRIPTION ON D



COPING OF BUDDHIST RAILING.

One-fourth size

A.



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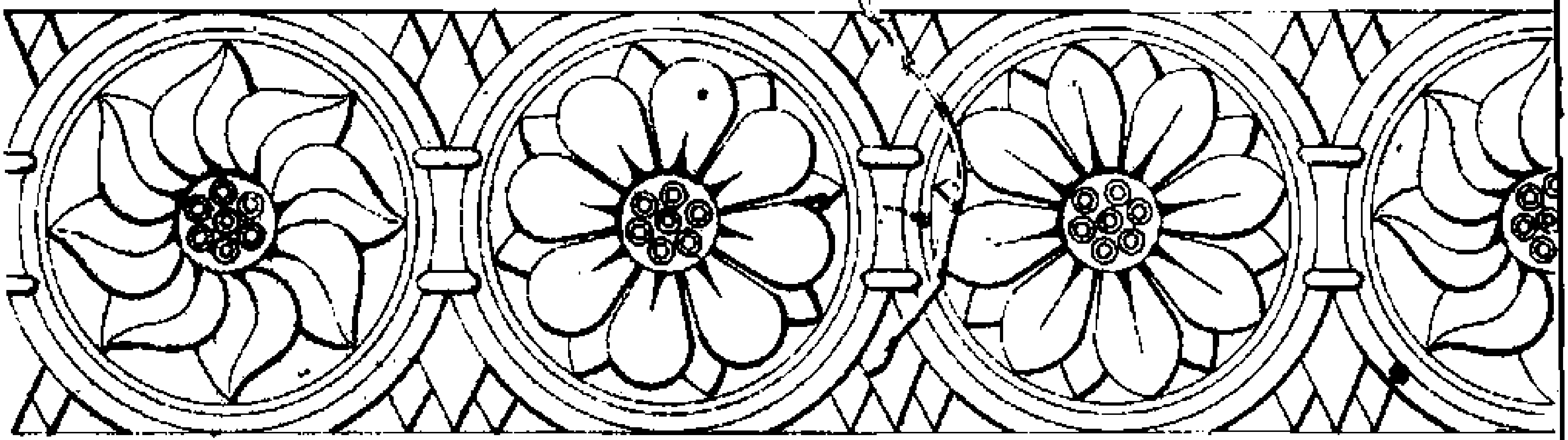

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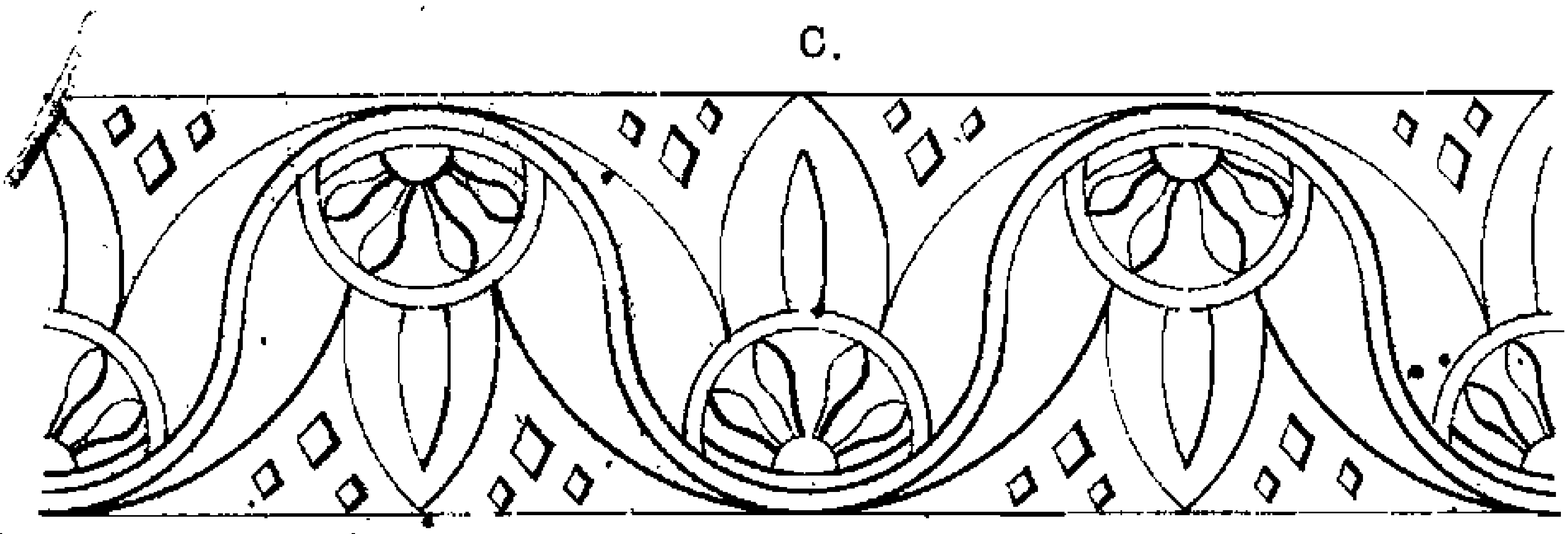

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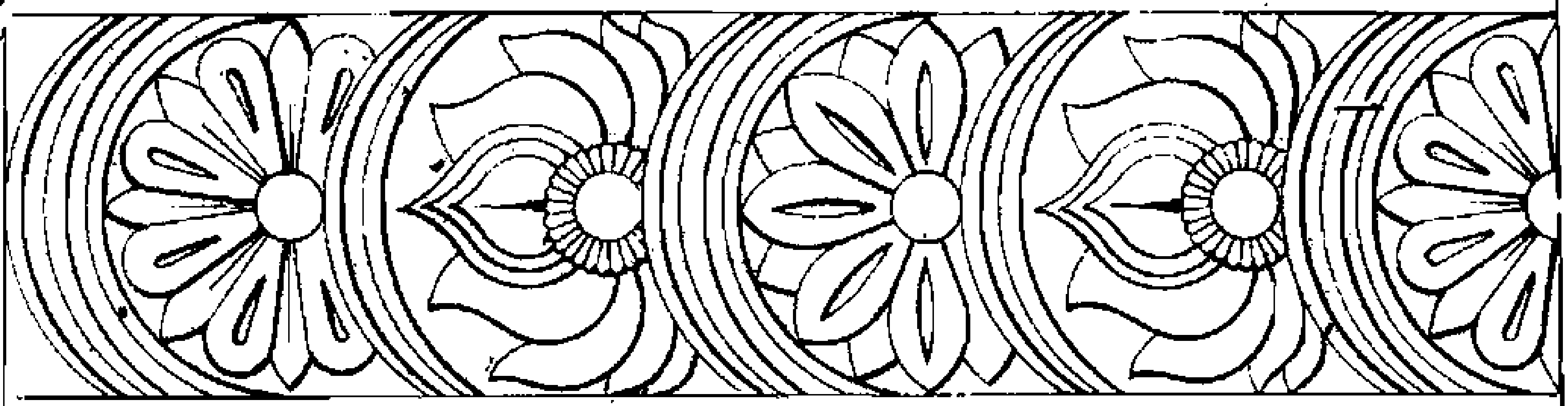
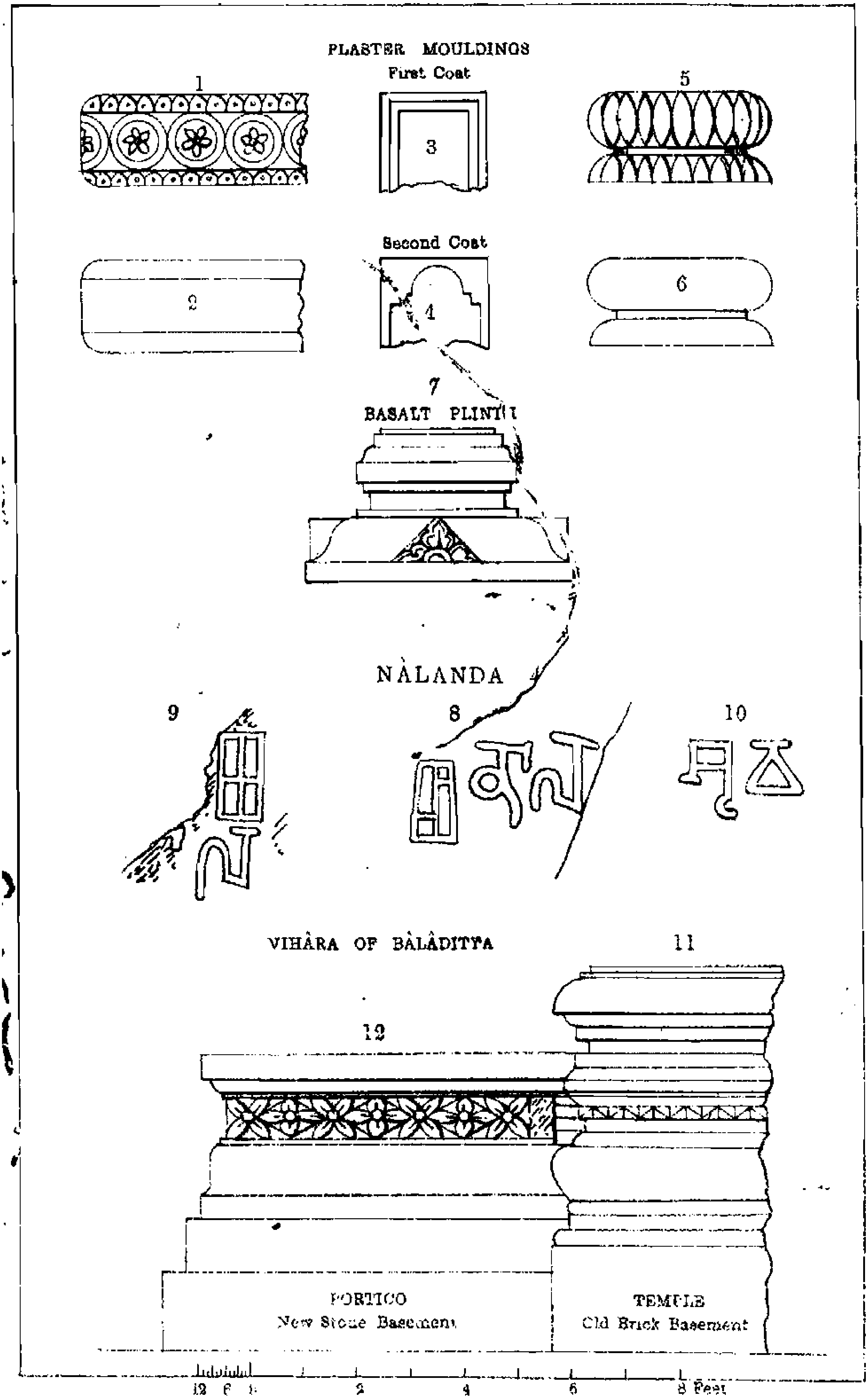


A. Cunningham, del.

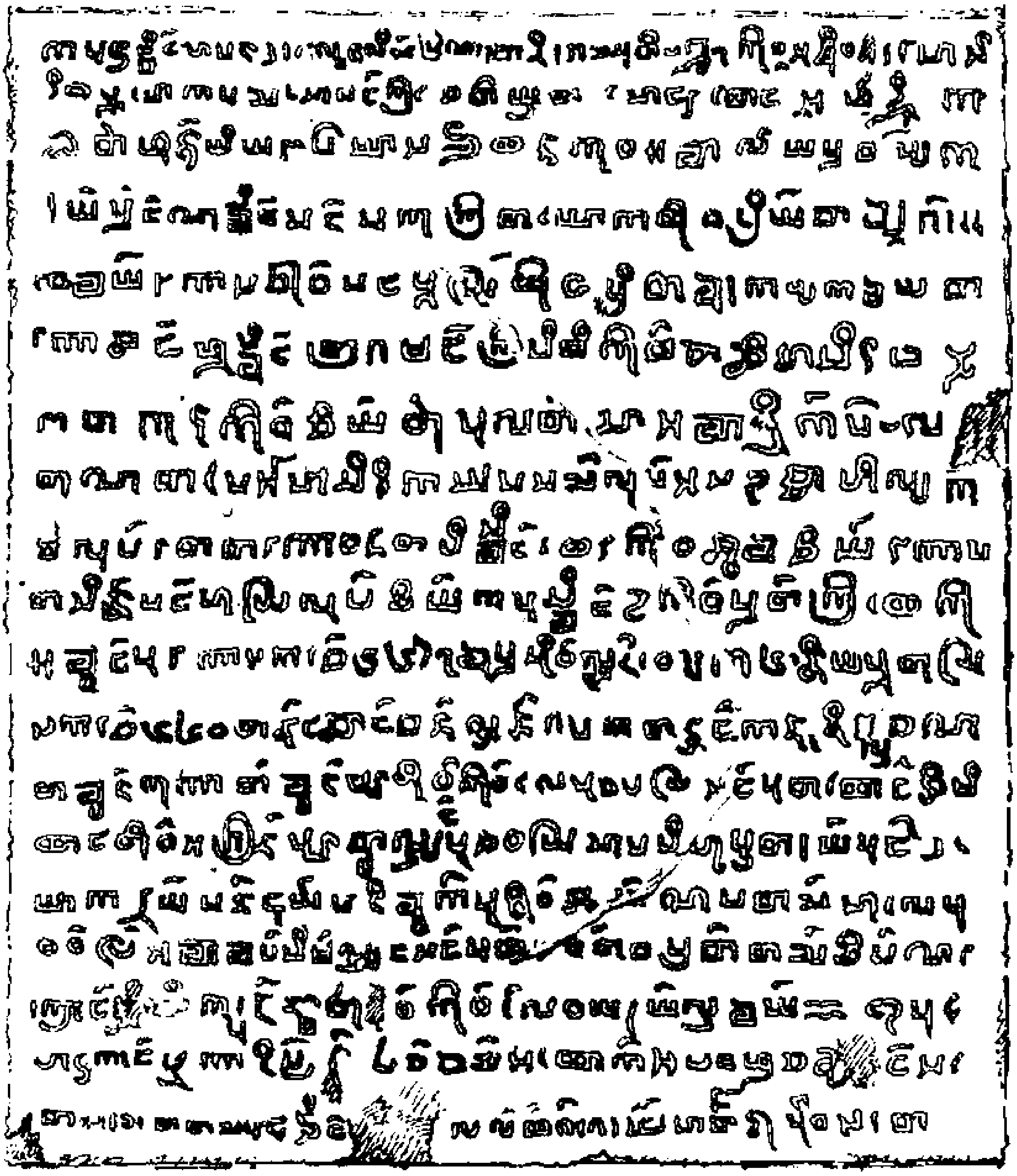
Litho. at the Survr. Genl's. Office. Cal. Oct. 1872.



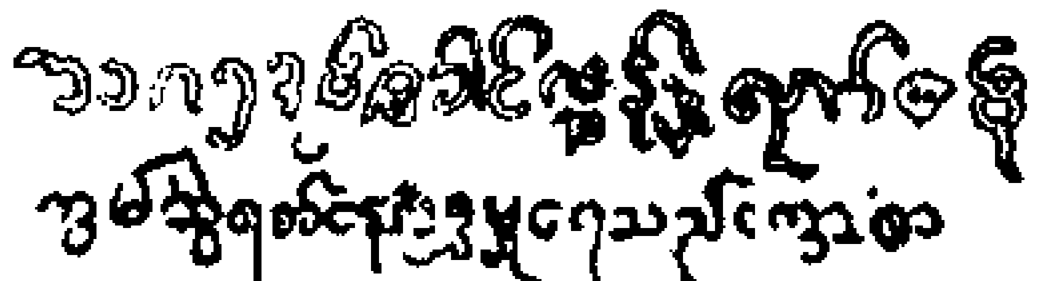
A. Cunningham, del.

BURMESE INSCRIPTIONS

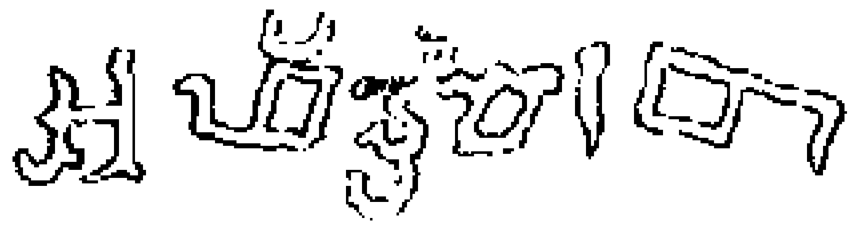
1. Slab in the Mahant's Residence.



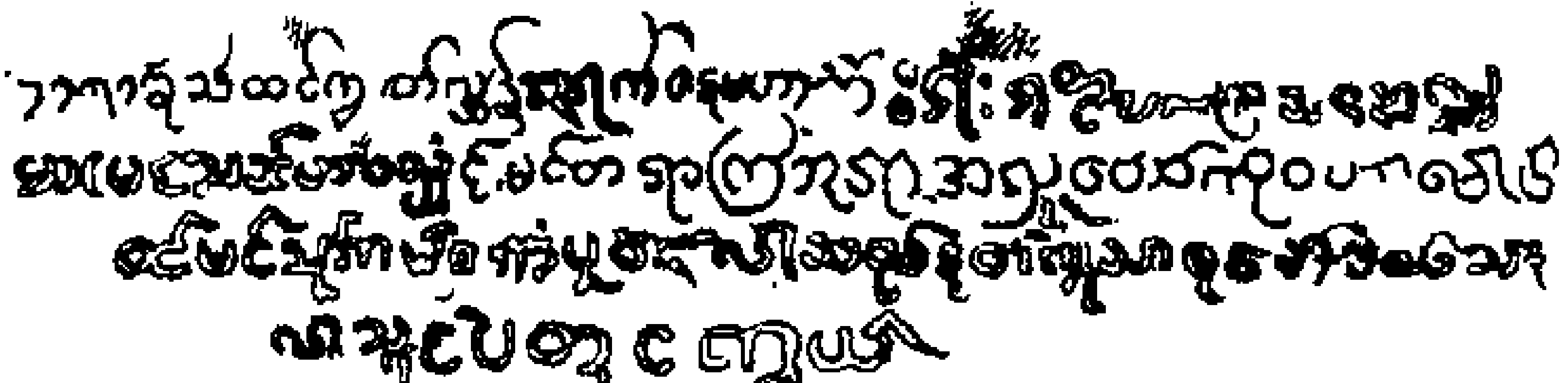
2. On a Votive Chaitya



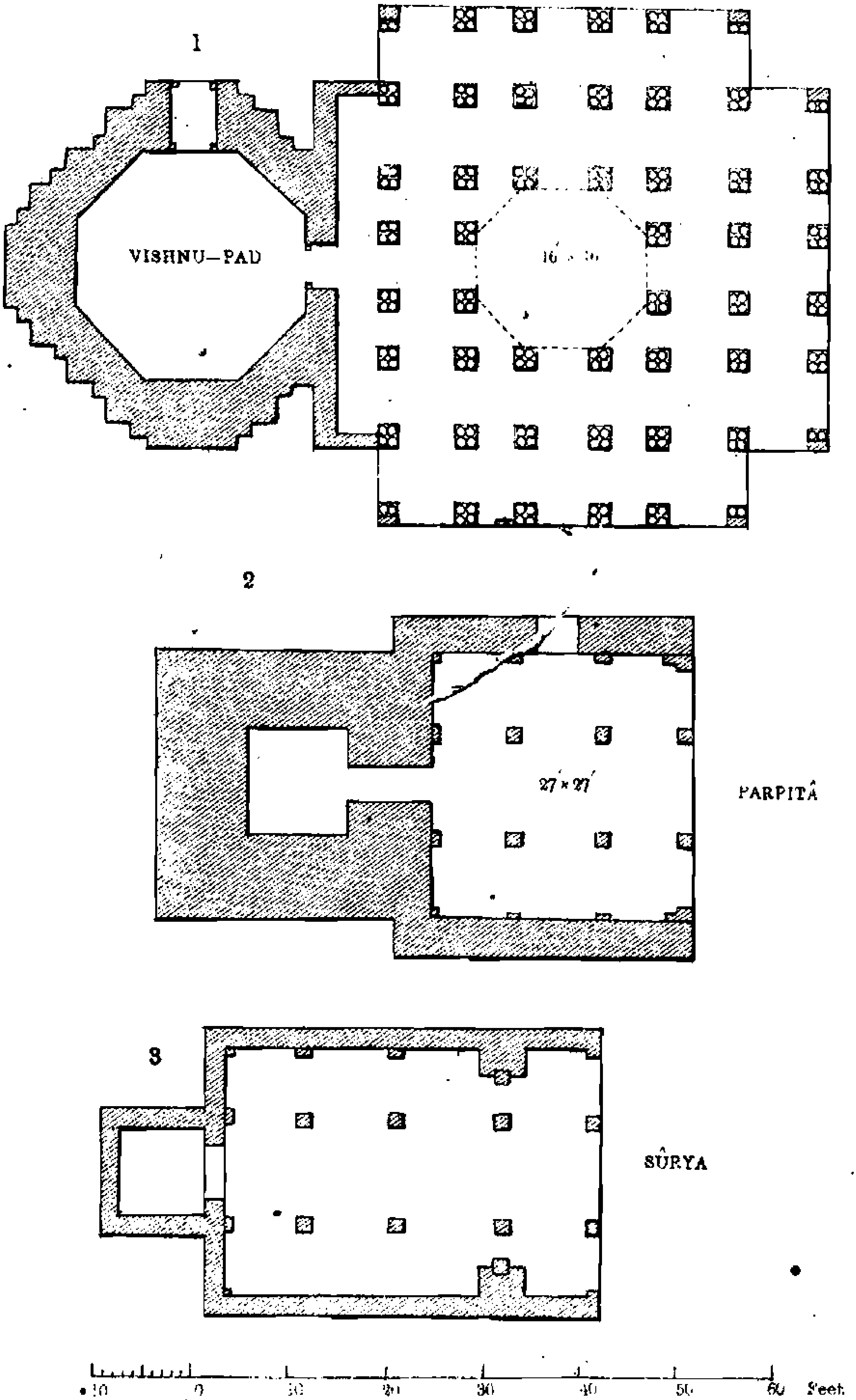
3. Pavement of Temple.



4. On Pedestal of Siva and Pârvati

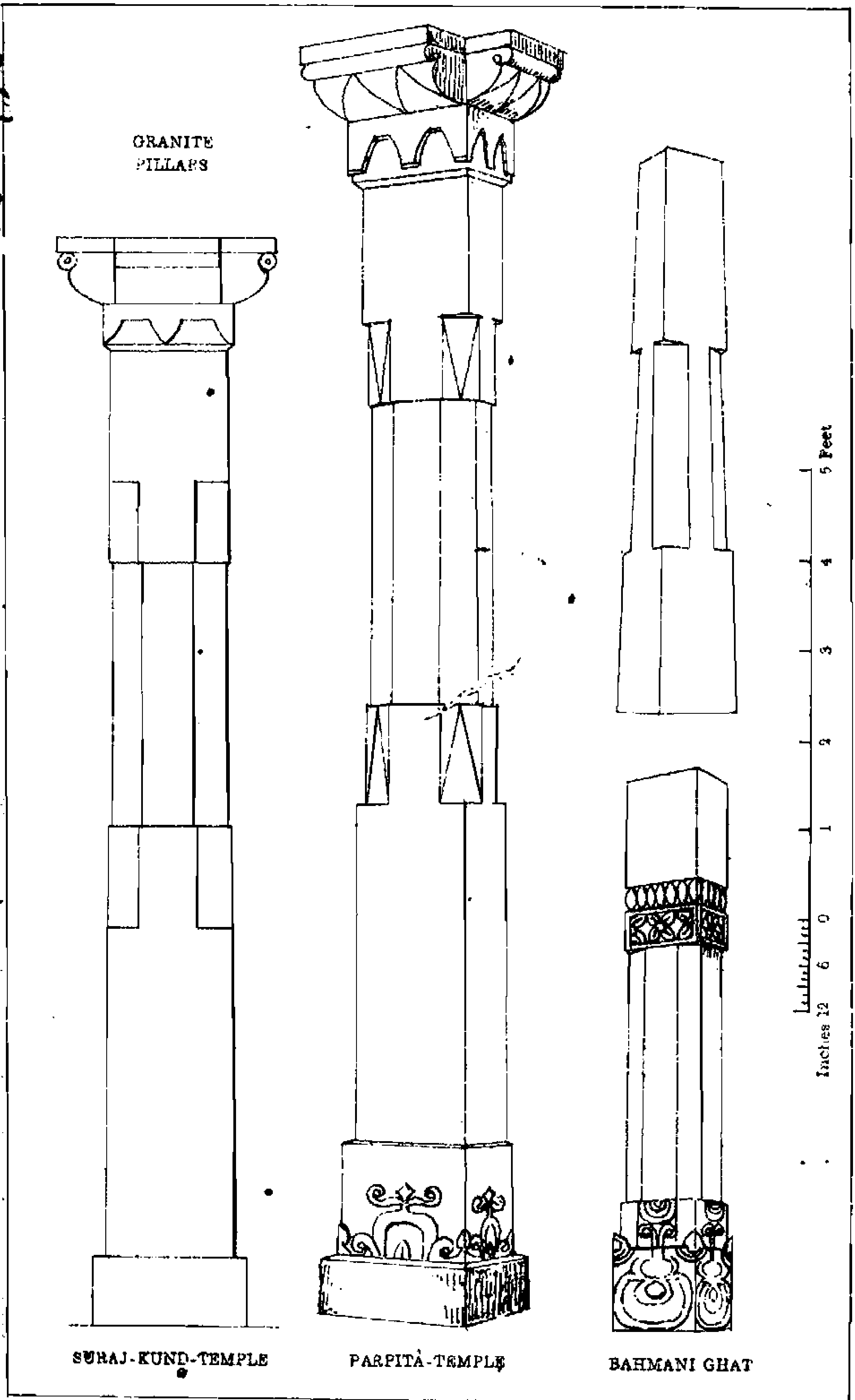


TEMPLES.



A. Cunningham, del.

Photozincographed at the Surveyor General's Office Calcutta

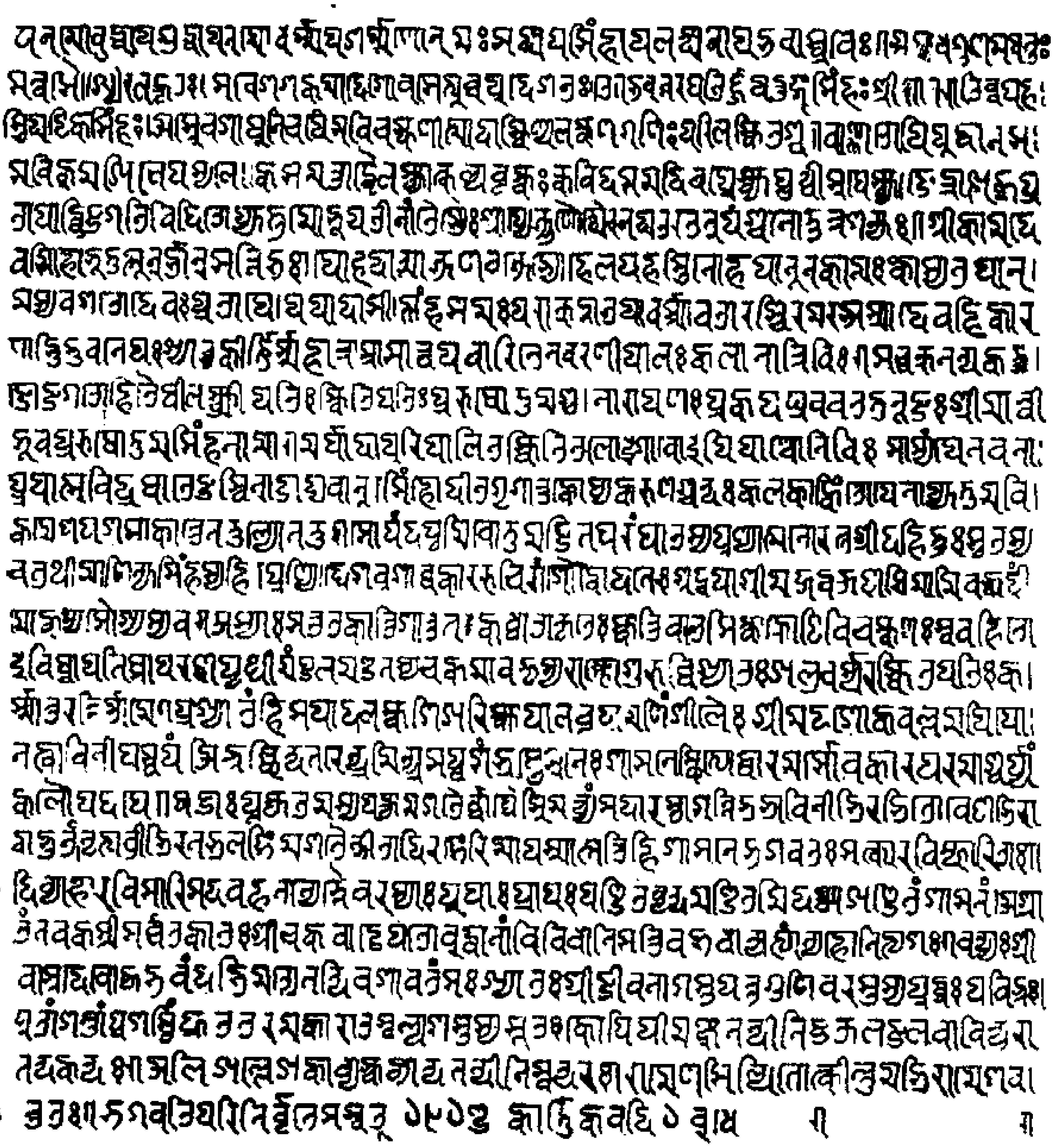


A. Cunningham, del.

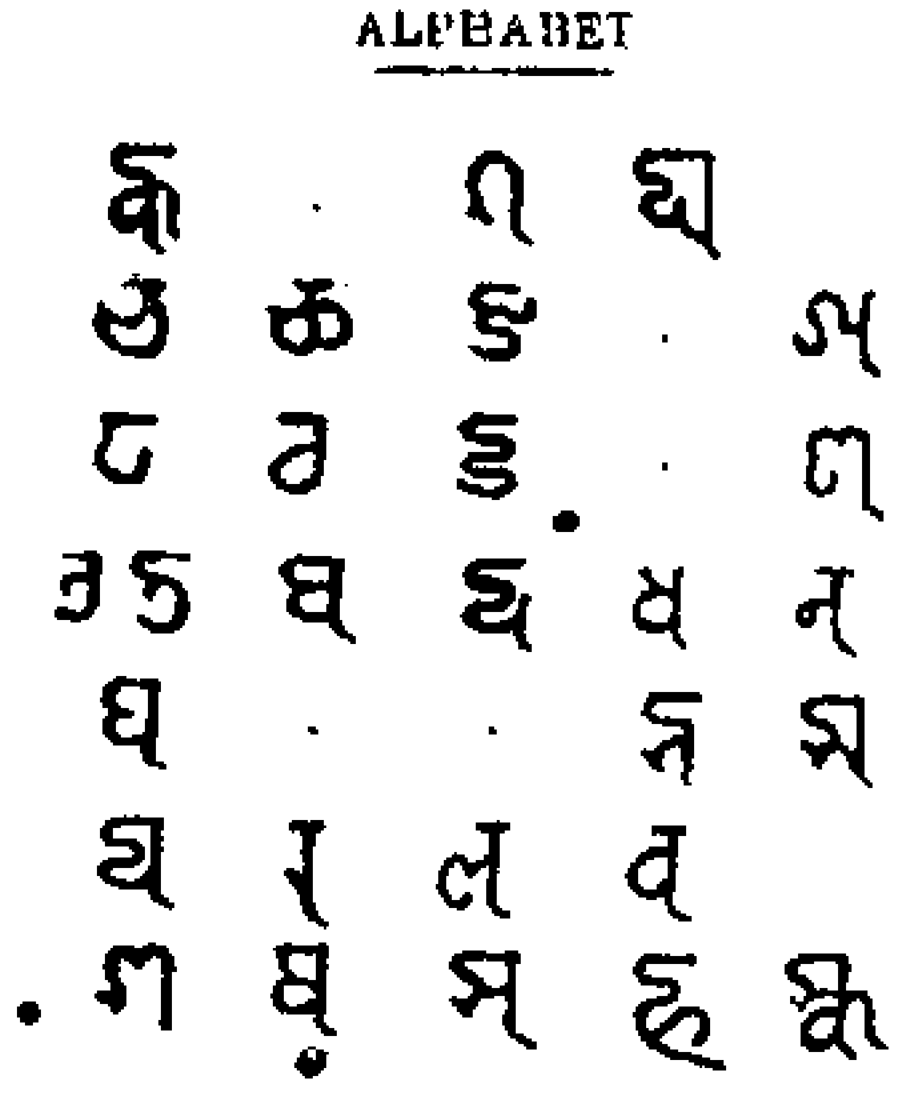
Photozincographed at the Surveyor General's Office Calcutta.

No. 19.

BUDDHIST INSCRIPTION IN THE TEMPLE OF SÛRYA



ALPHABET



Date in last line

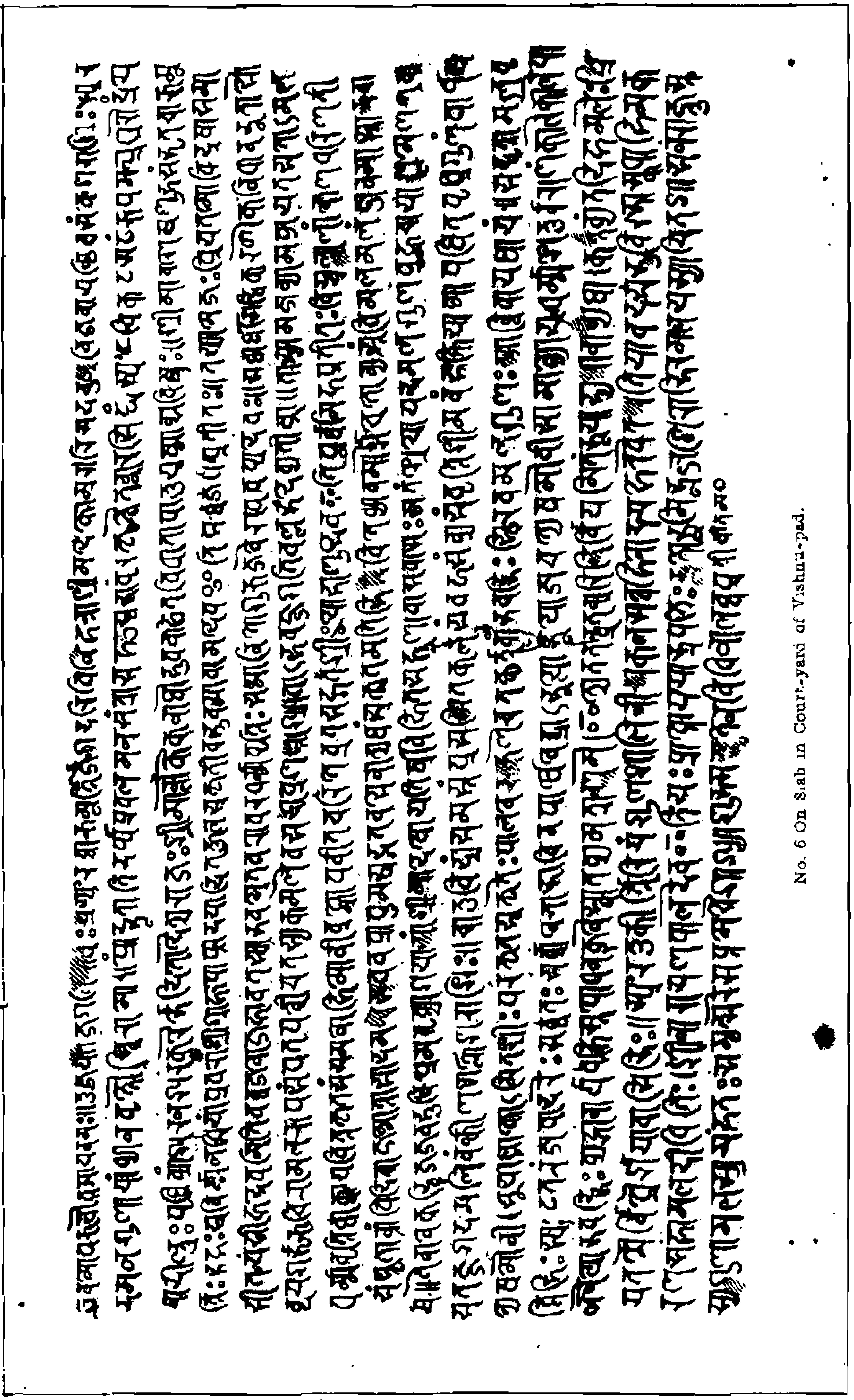
Bhagavati Parinirvrite

Samvat 1819.

Kârttika badi 1 *Budhe.*

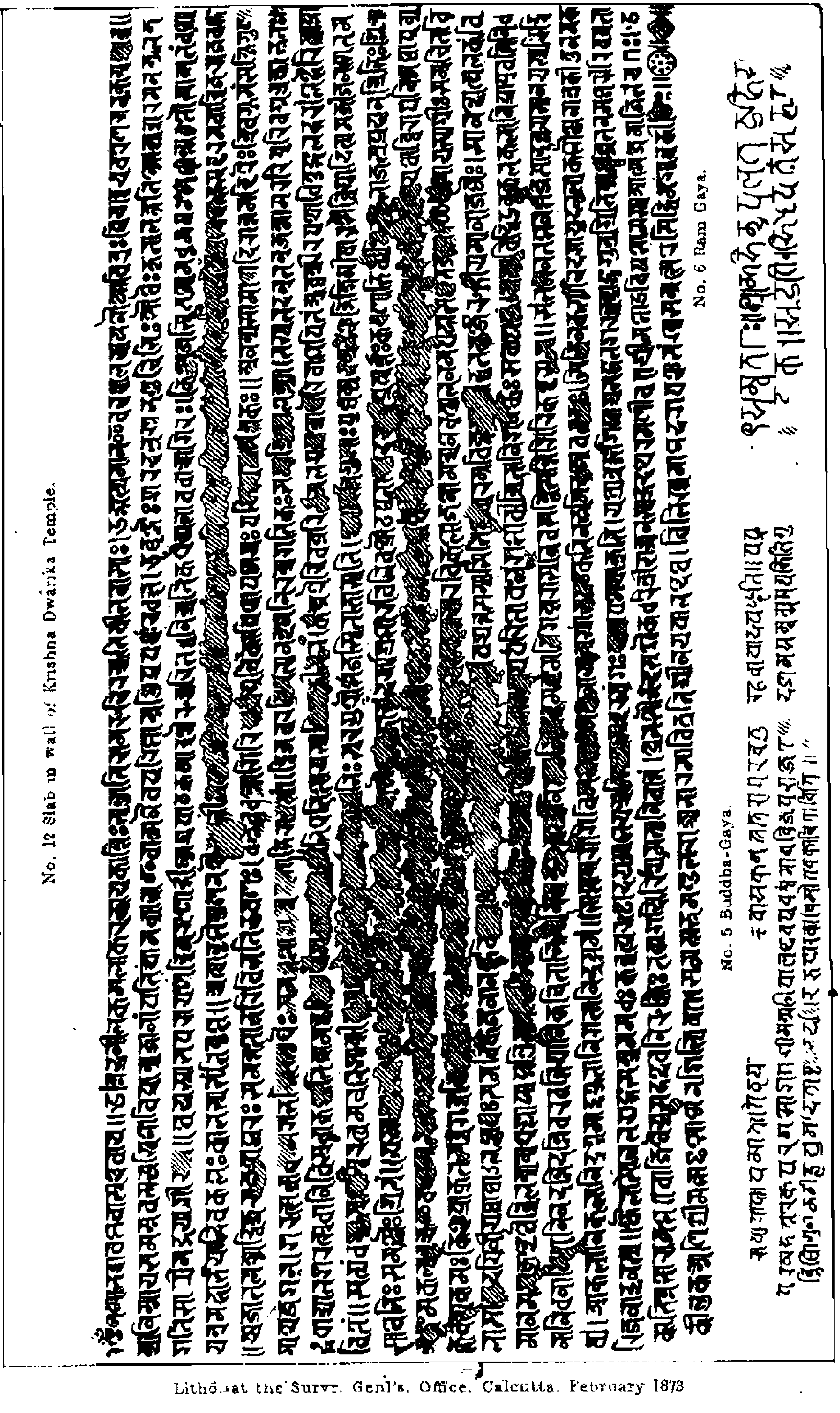
A. Cunningham del.

Photozincographed at the Surveyor General's Office Calcutta.



No. 6 On Slab in Court-yard of Vishnu-pad.

Litho. at the Survr. Genl's. Office, Calcutta, February 1873.



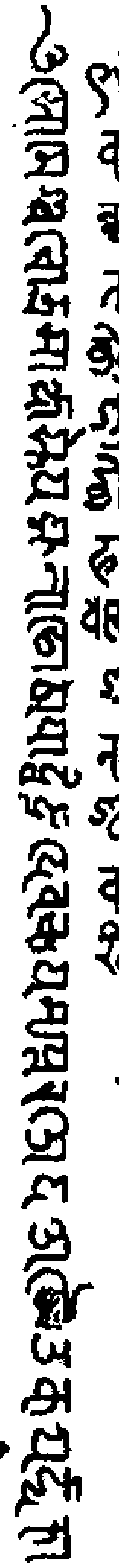
No. 12 Slab in wall of Krishna Dwárka Temple.

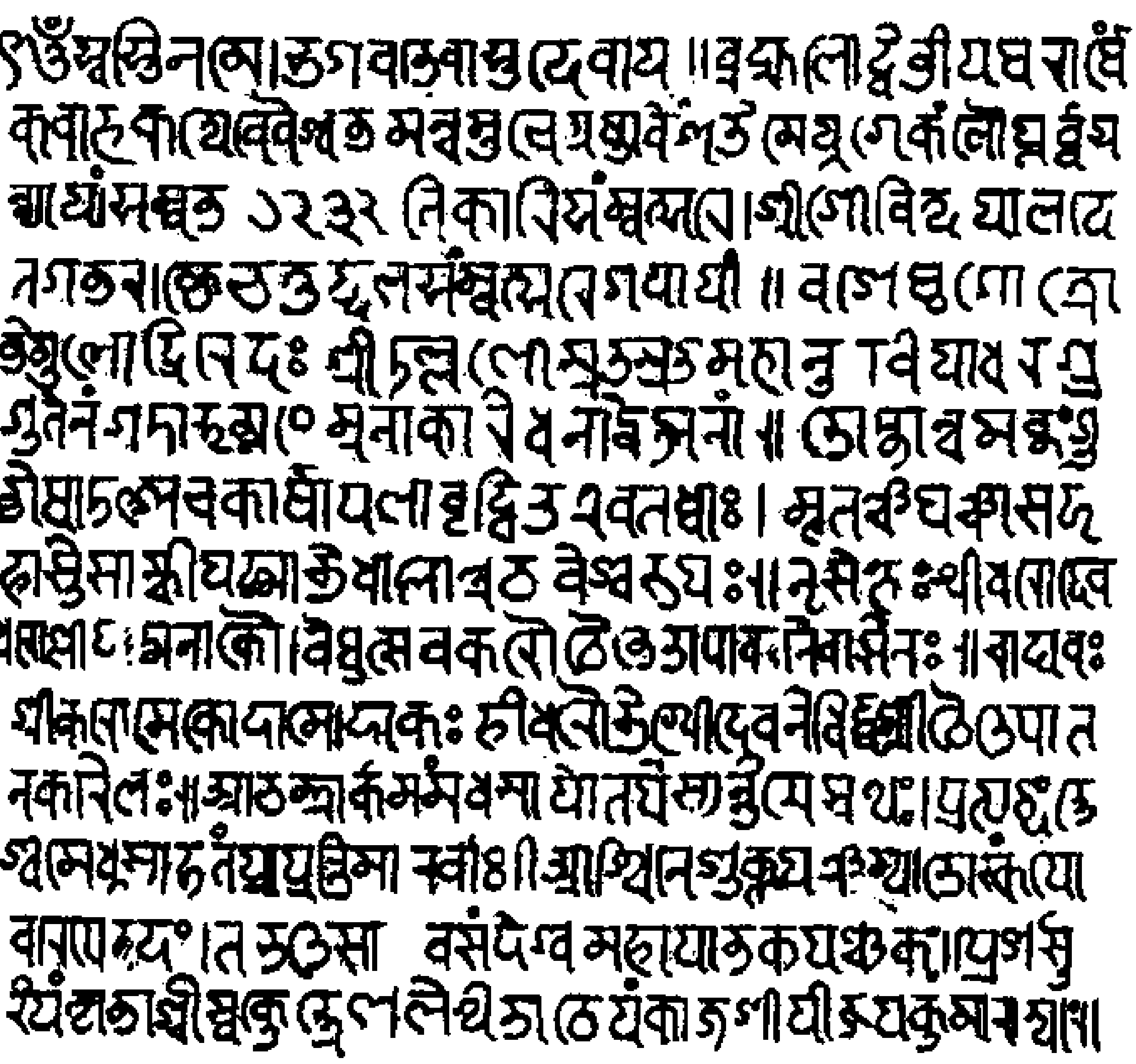
No. 5 Buddha-Gaya.

No. 6 Ram Gaya.

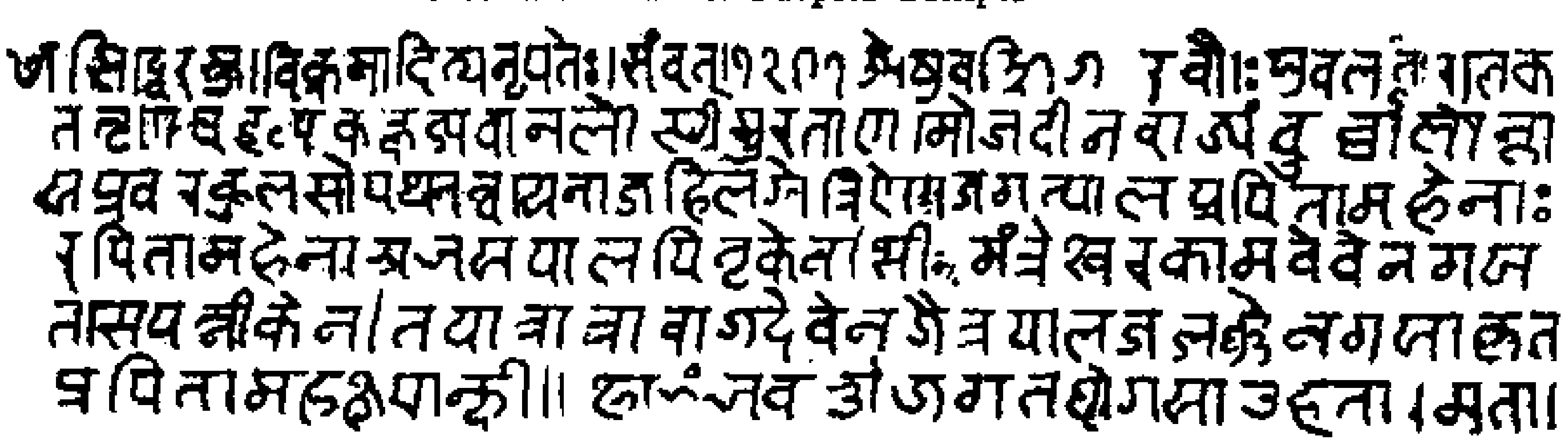
Lithö. at the Survr. Genl's. Office. Calcutta. February 1873

No. 13. Four armed Female Statue

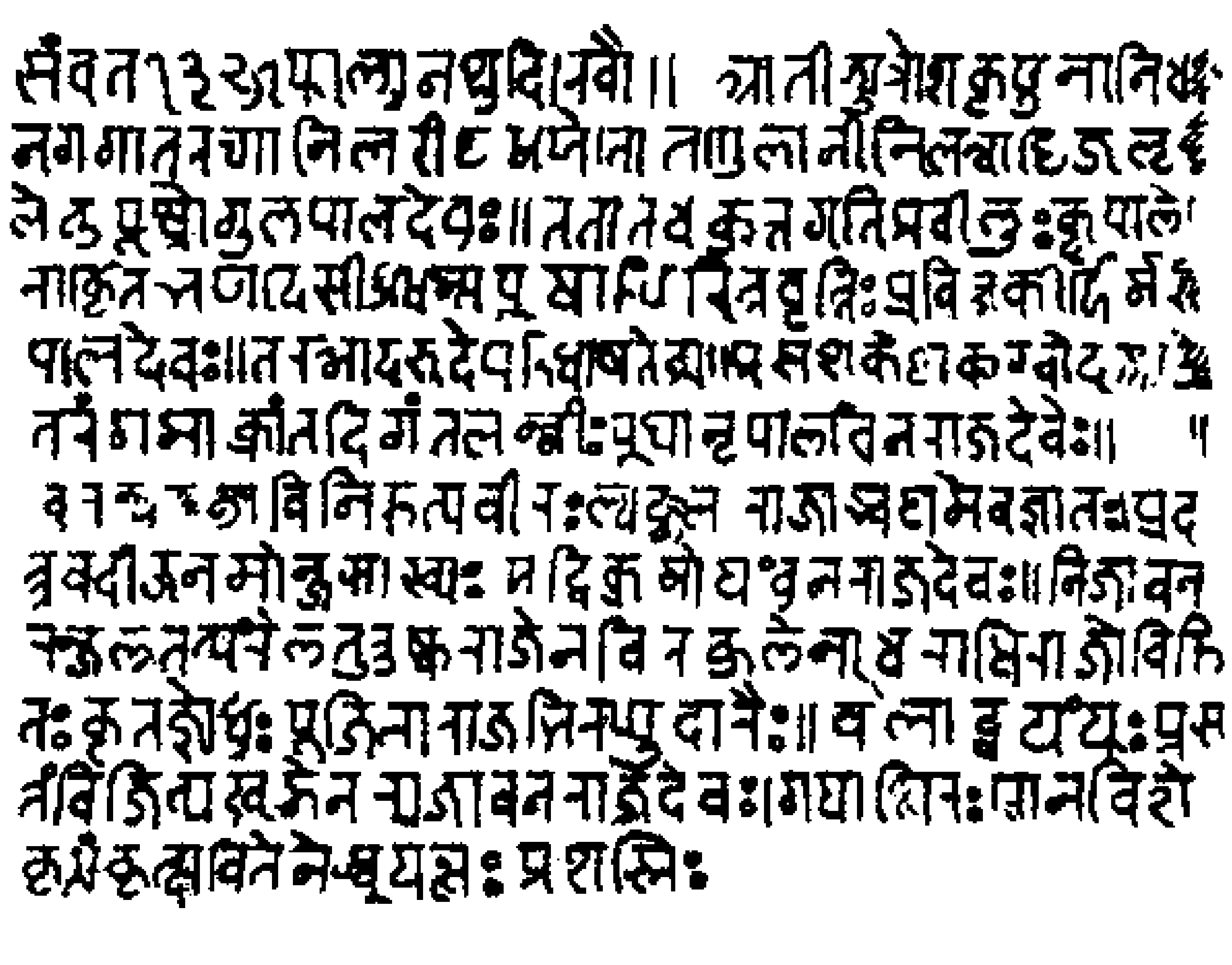




No. 22. Wall of Parpitā Temple



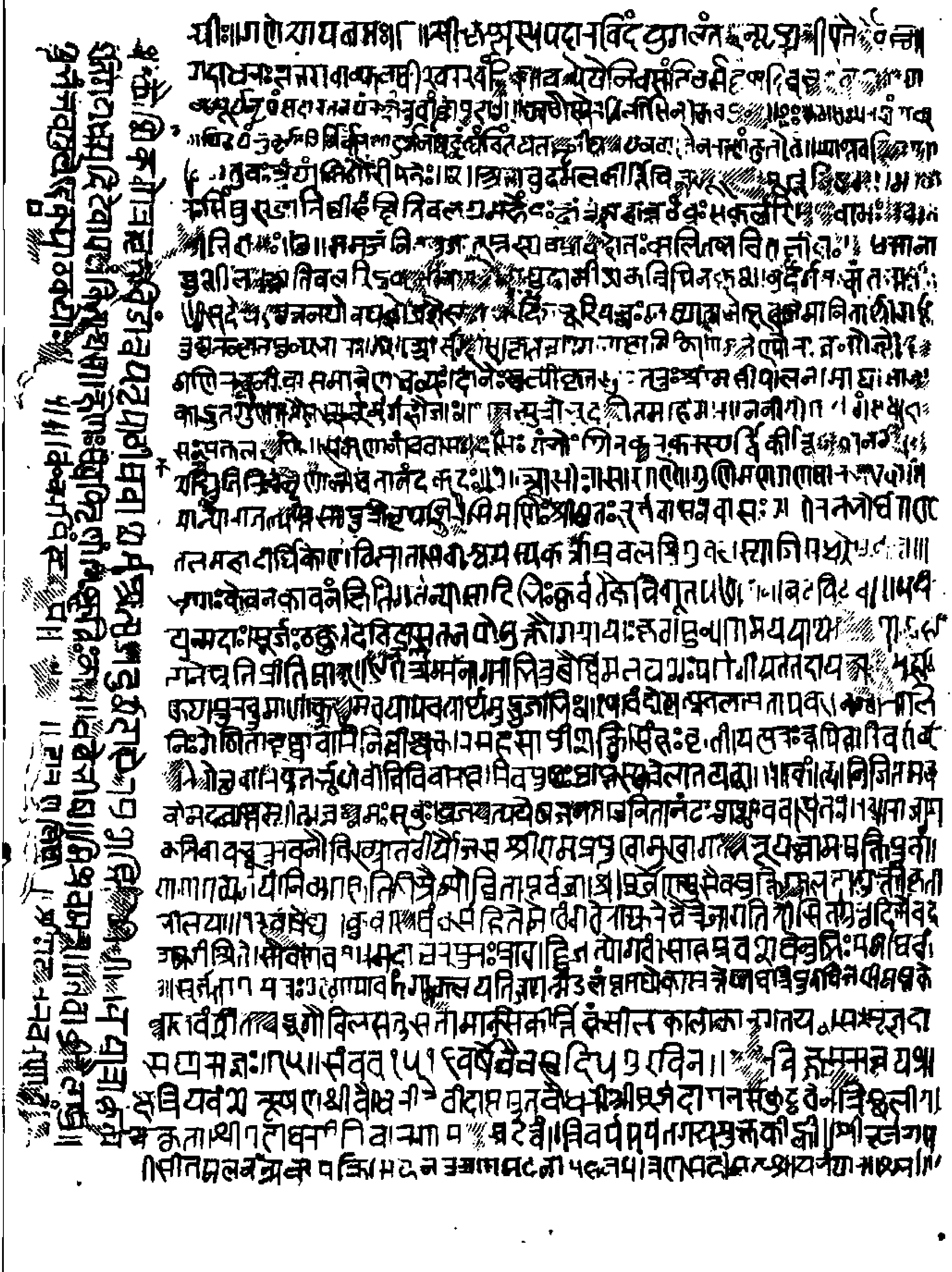
No. 23 Slab to N. W. of Vishnu-pad.



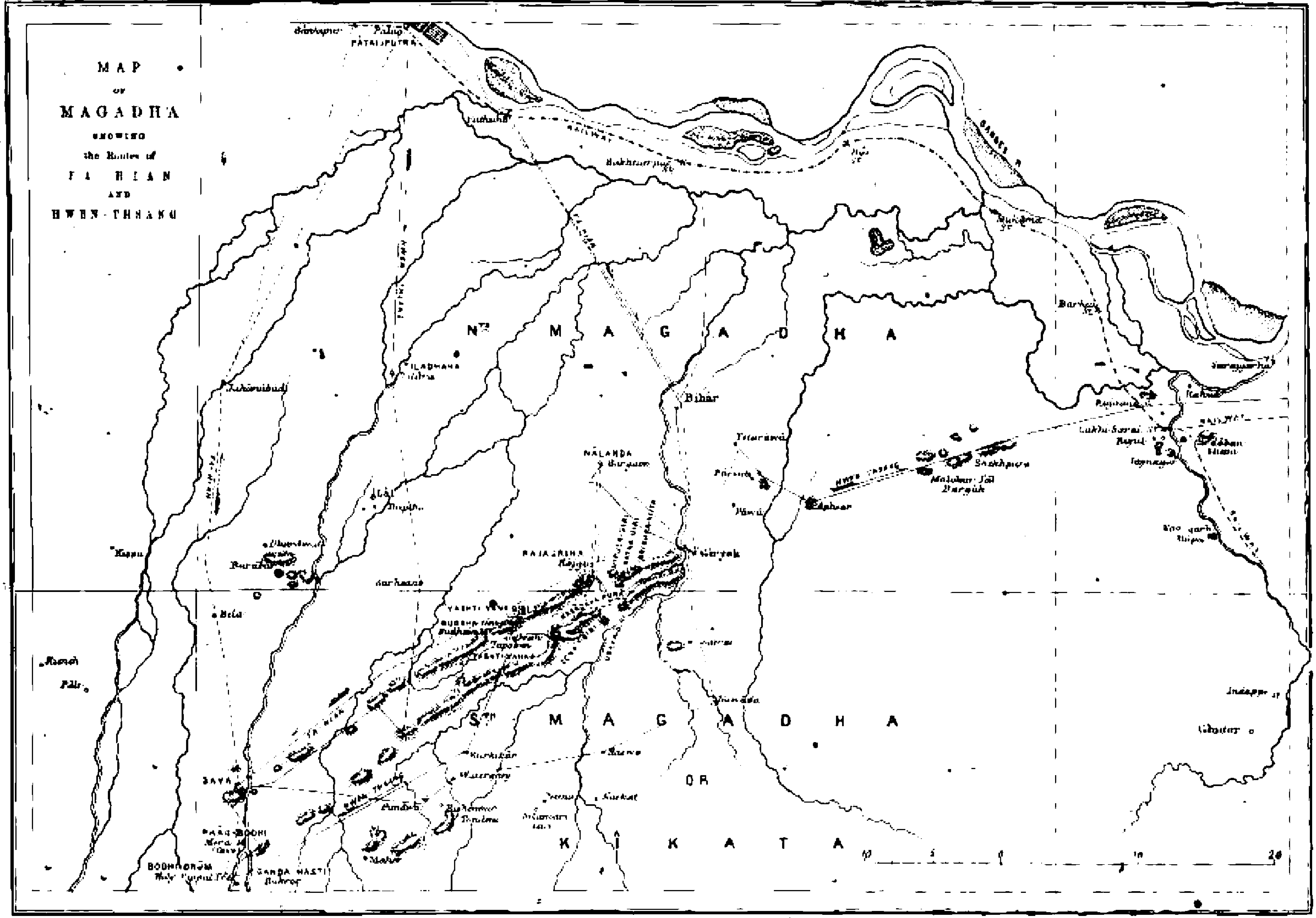
A. Cunningham, del.

Photozincographed at the Surveyor General's Office Calcutta.

No. 28 Temple of Gayâsuri Devi.

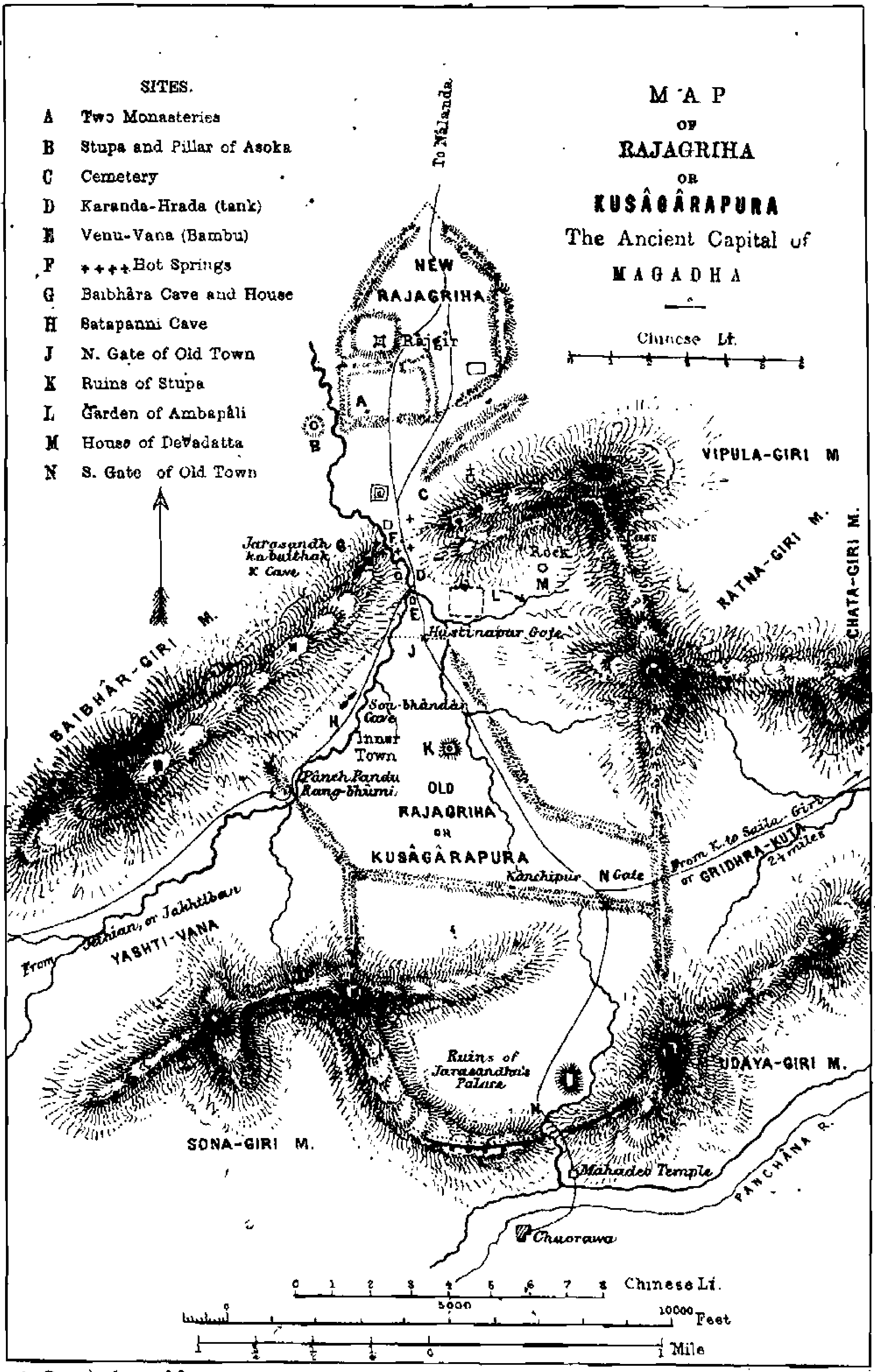


Litho. at the Survr. Genl's. Office, Calcutta, Dec. 1873.



A. Cunningham, del.

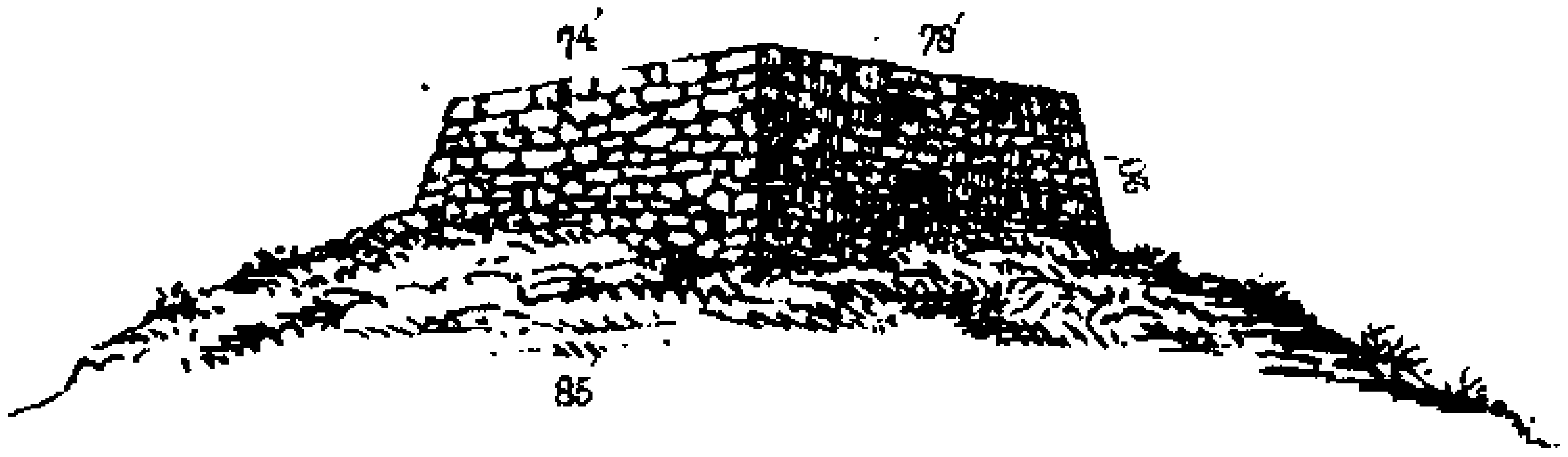
Litho. at the Survr. Genl's Office, Calcutta, Dec. 187?.



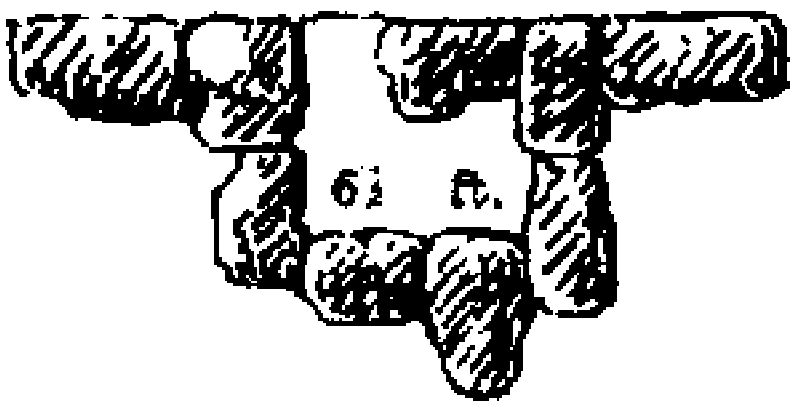
A. Cunningham, del.

Litho. at the Survr. Genl's. Office, Cal. Sept. 1872.

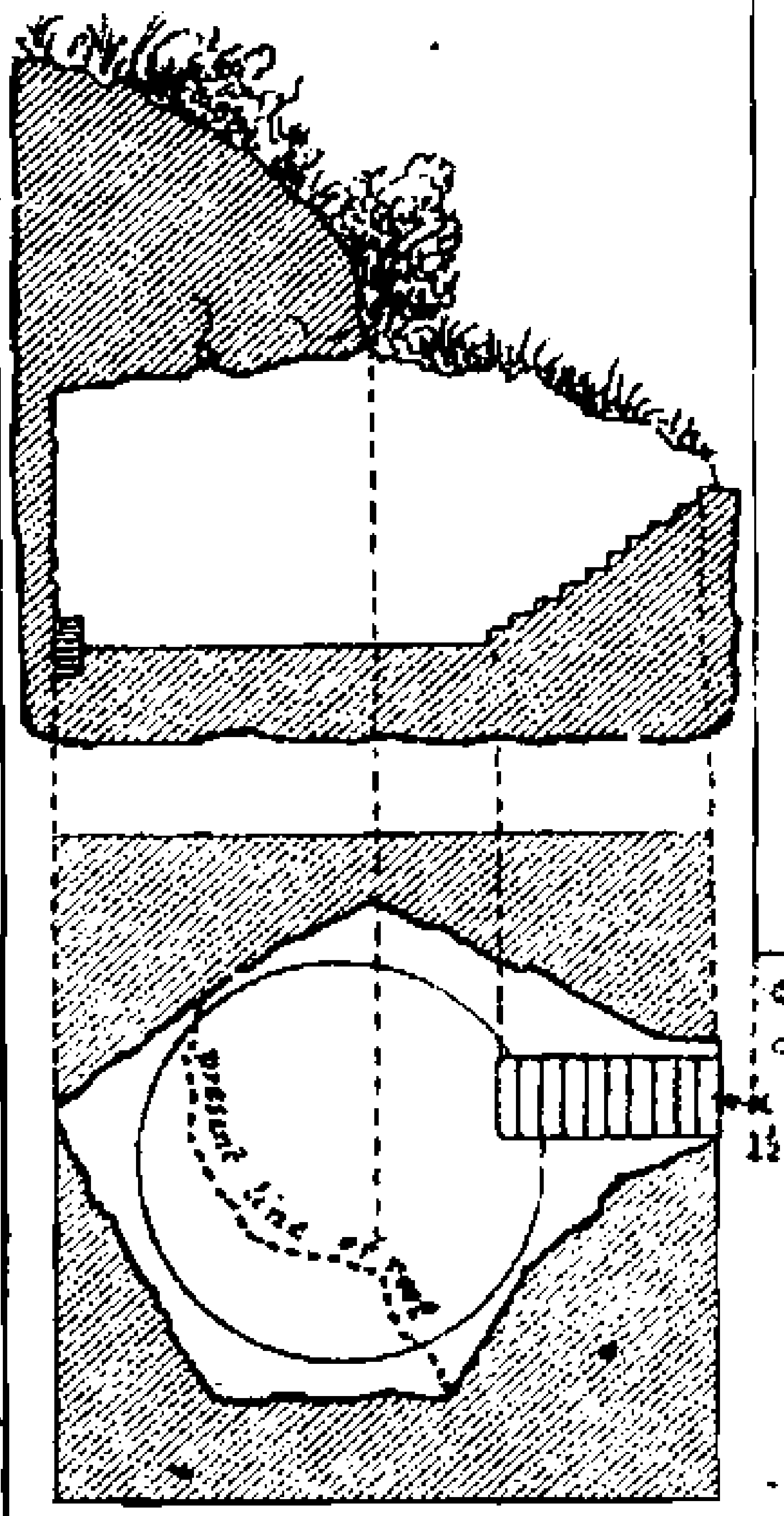
JARASANDH-KA-BAITHAK
from E

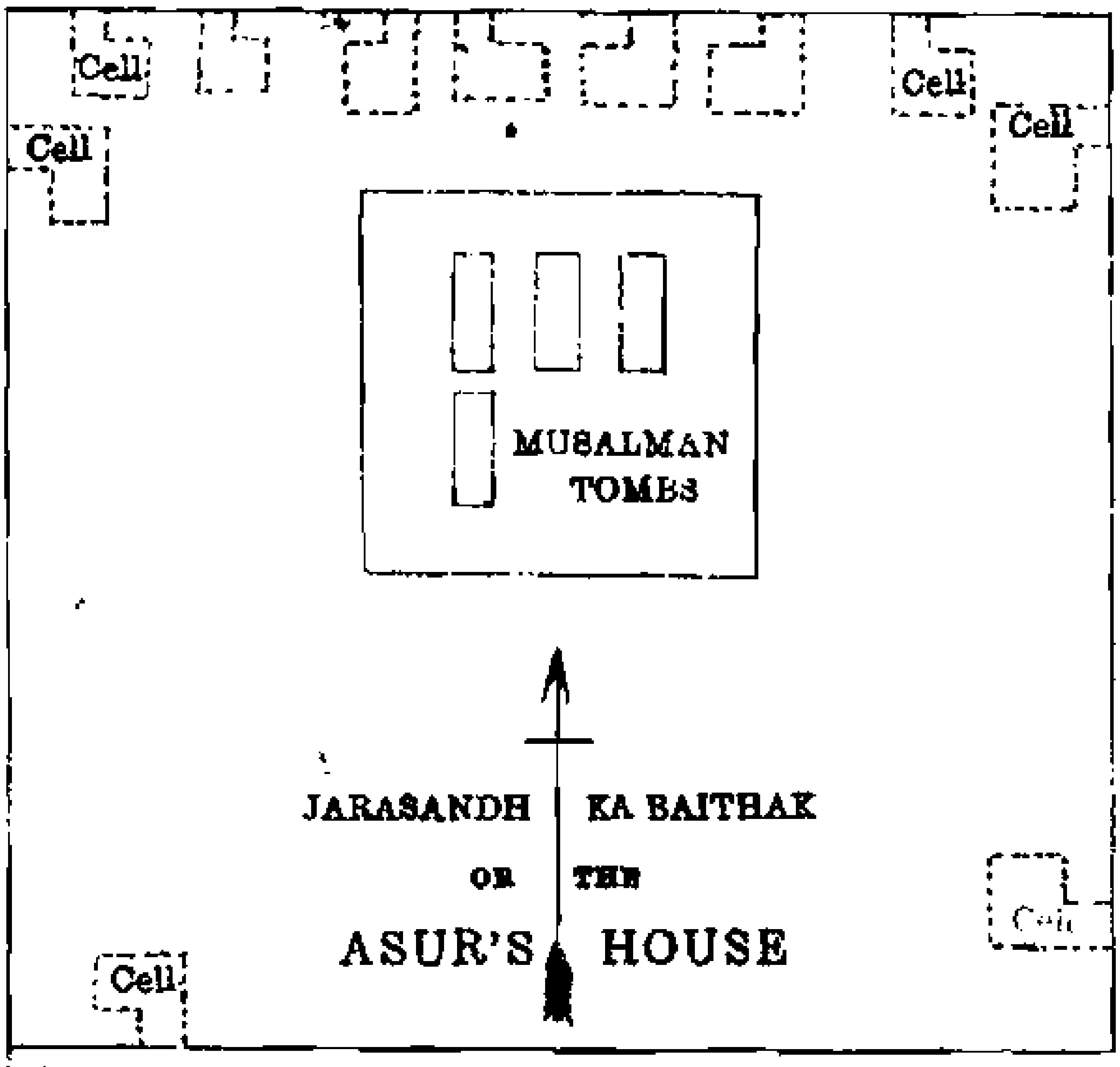


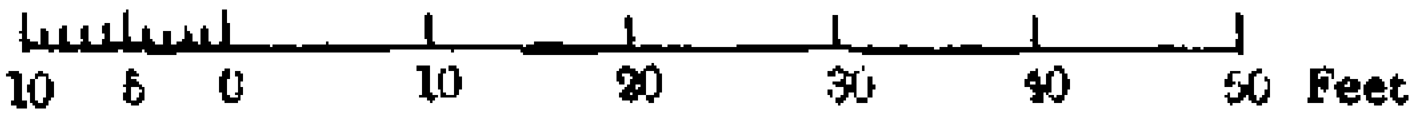
PLAN OF A CELL



BAIBHAR CAVE



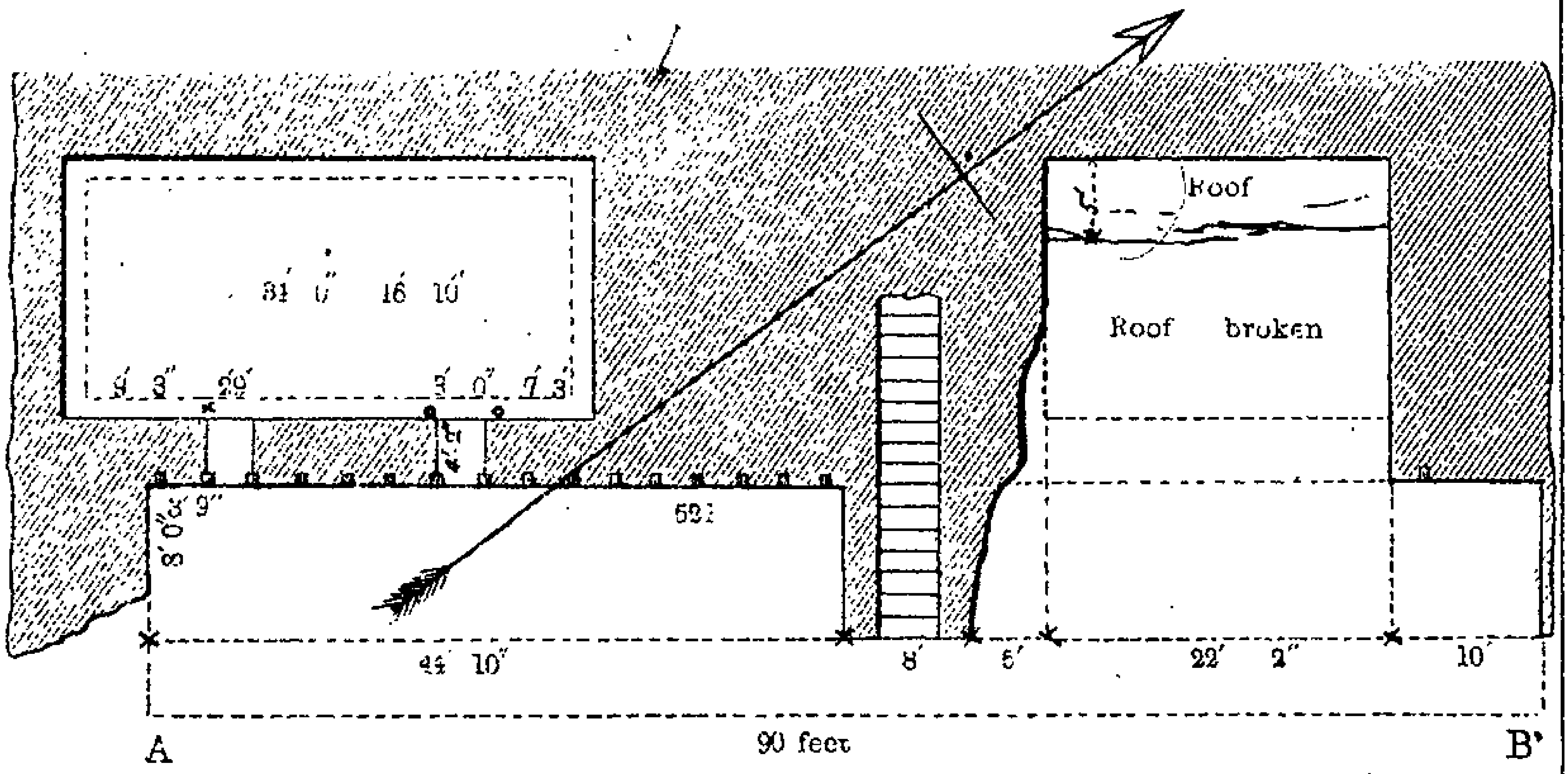


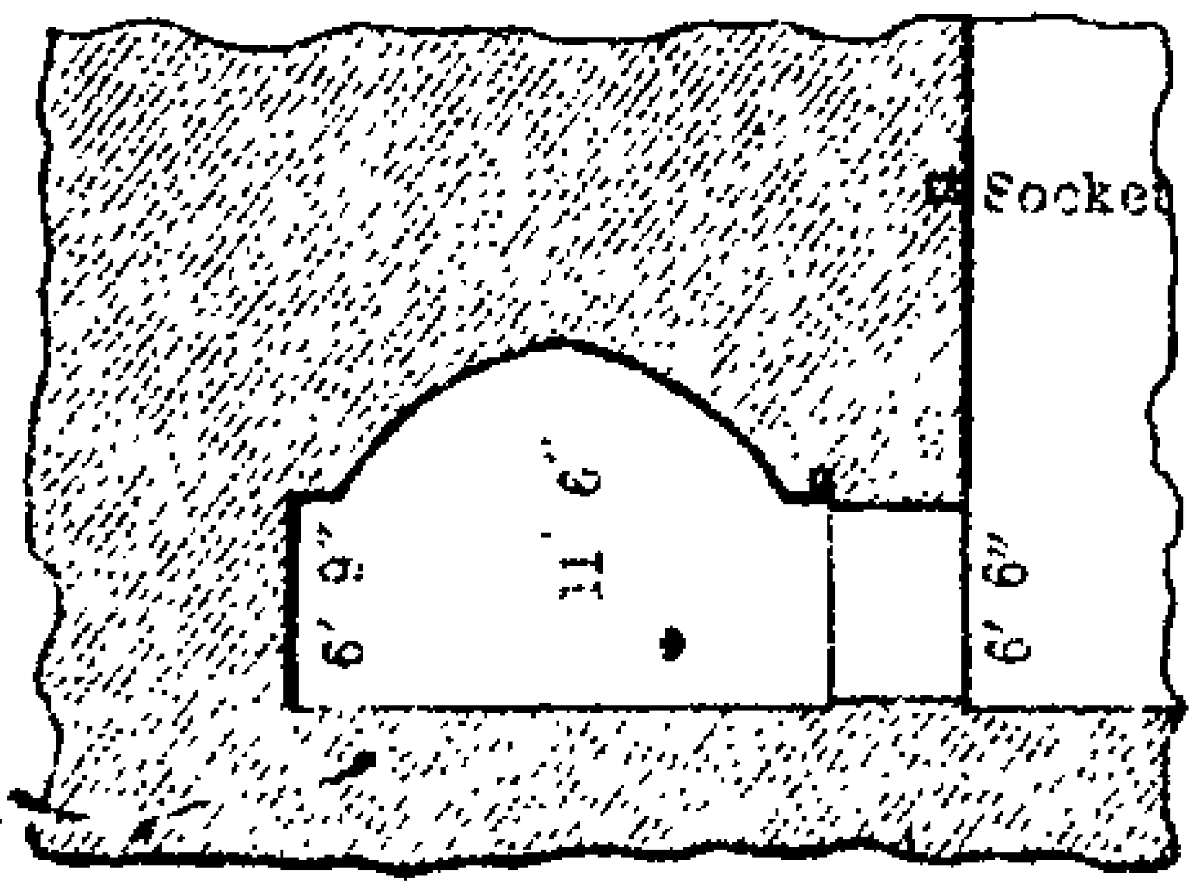


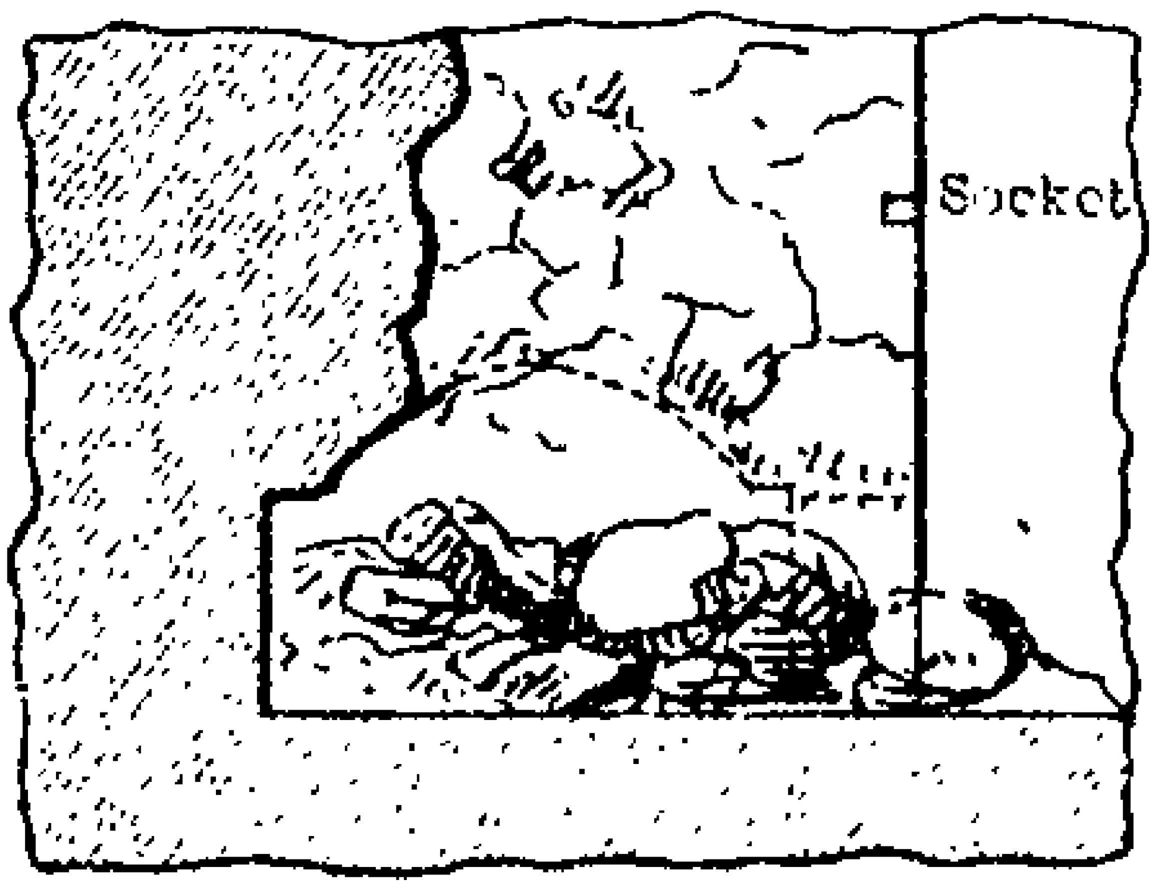
A. Cunningham, del.

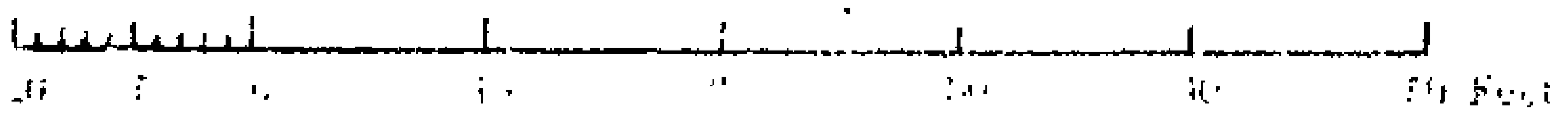
Photozincographed at the Surveyor General's Office Calcutta.

SON-BHÂNDÂR
OR
SATAPANNI CAVE









A. Cunningham, del.

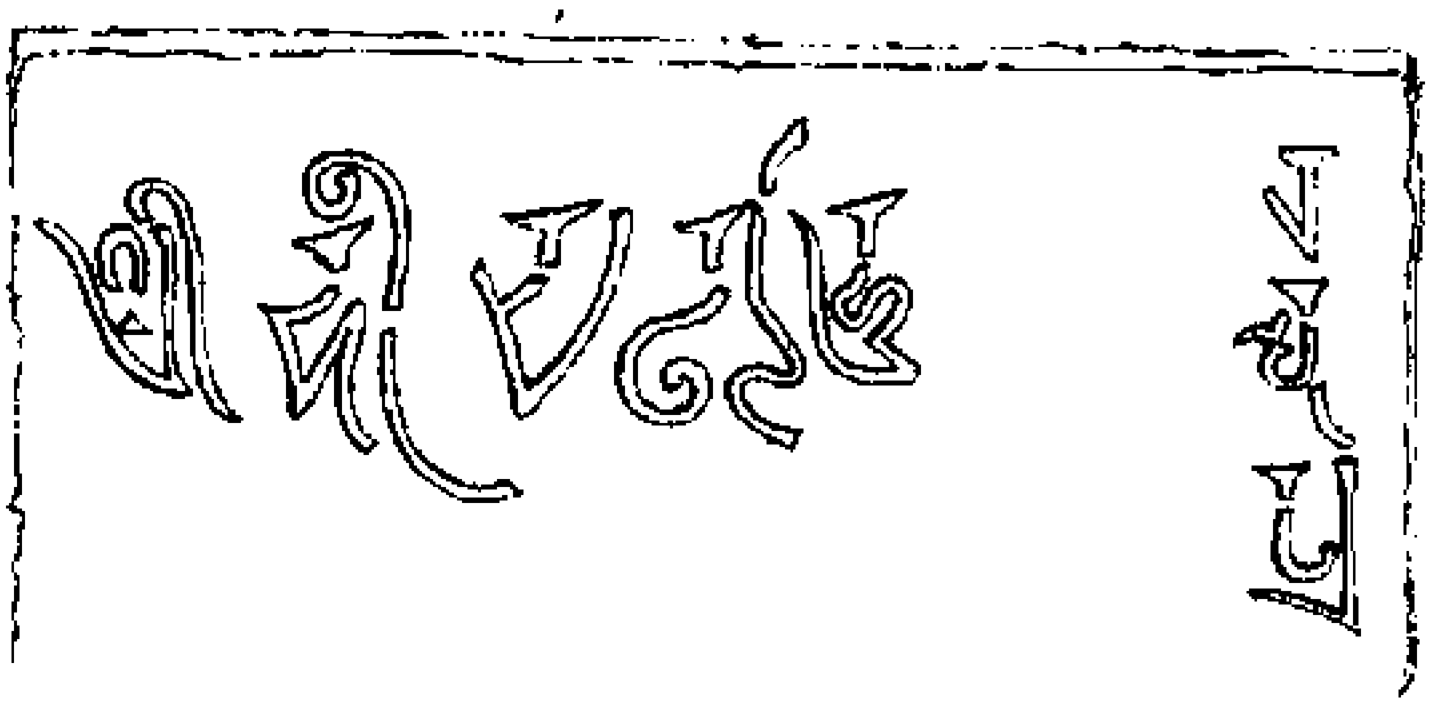
Photozincographed at the Surveyor General's Office, Calcutta

A Cunningham, Del.

Litho at the Survr. Genl's. Office, Cal. Nov. 1872.

RAJAONA.

A2.



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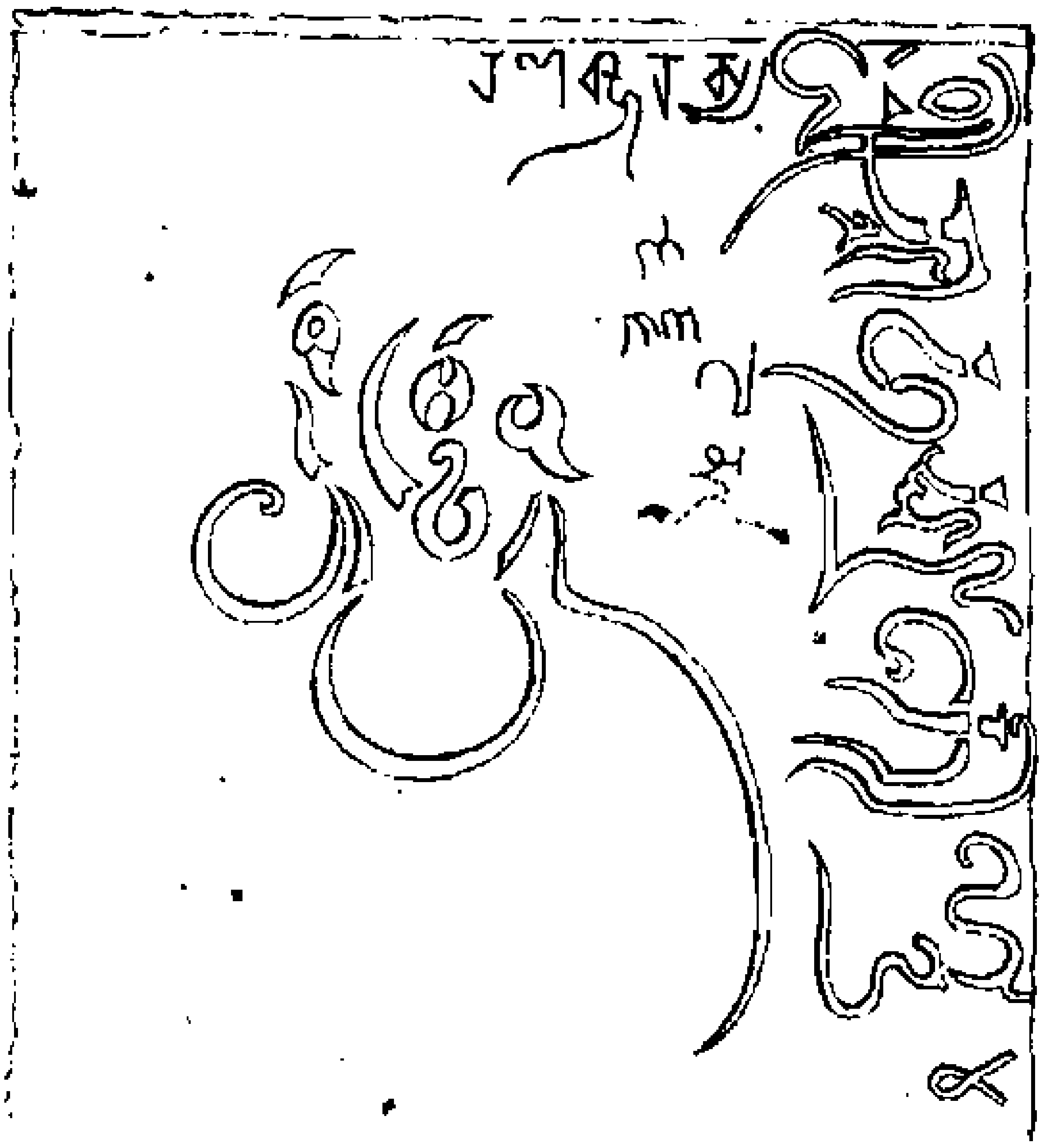
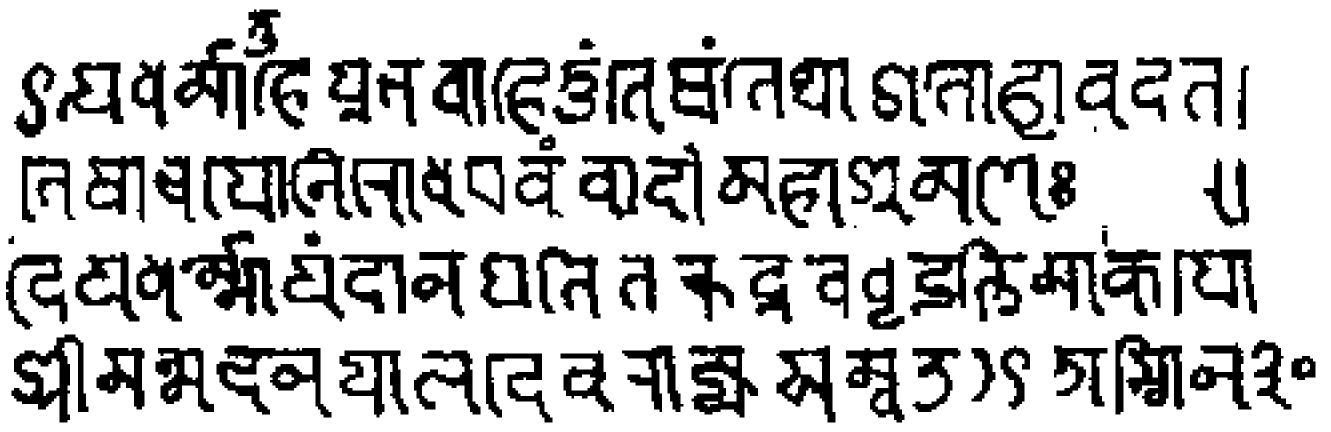


No. 17. Jaynagar



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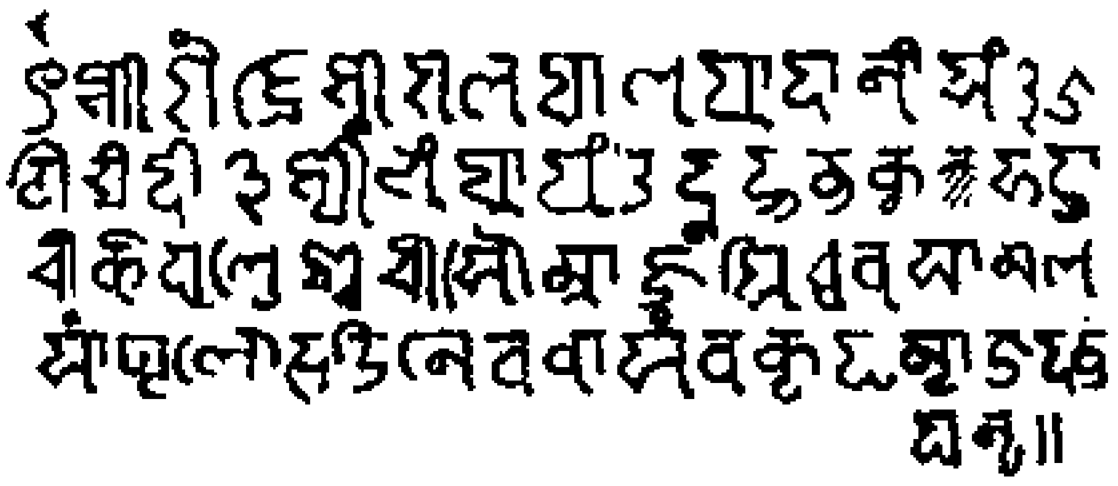
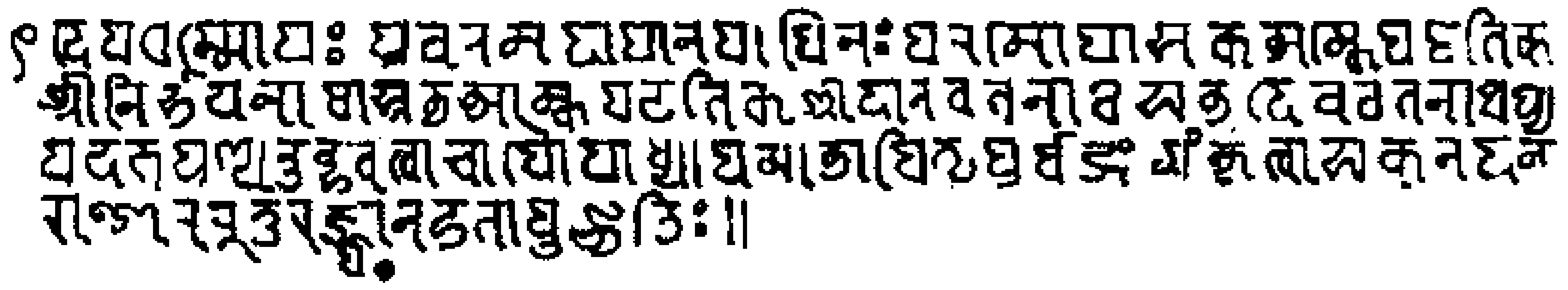
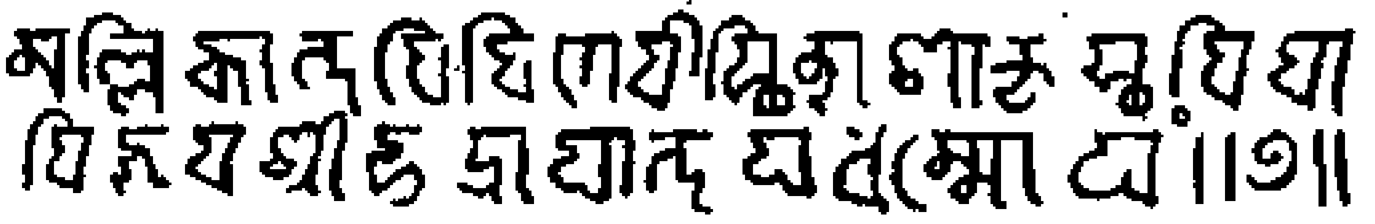


No. 32. Statue of Ascetic Buddha-Rajaona.



No. 34. Jaynagar

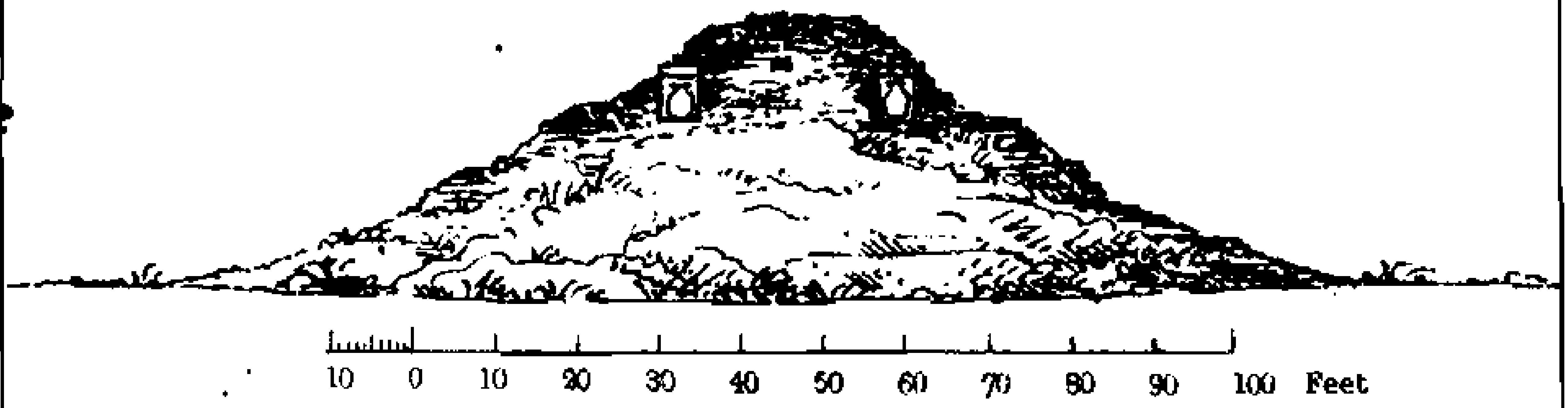


A. Cunningham, del.

Litho. at the Survr. Genl's. Office, Calcutta, Dec. 1872.

BIRDÂBAN STUPA

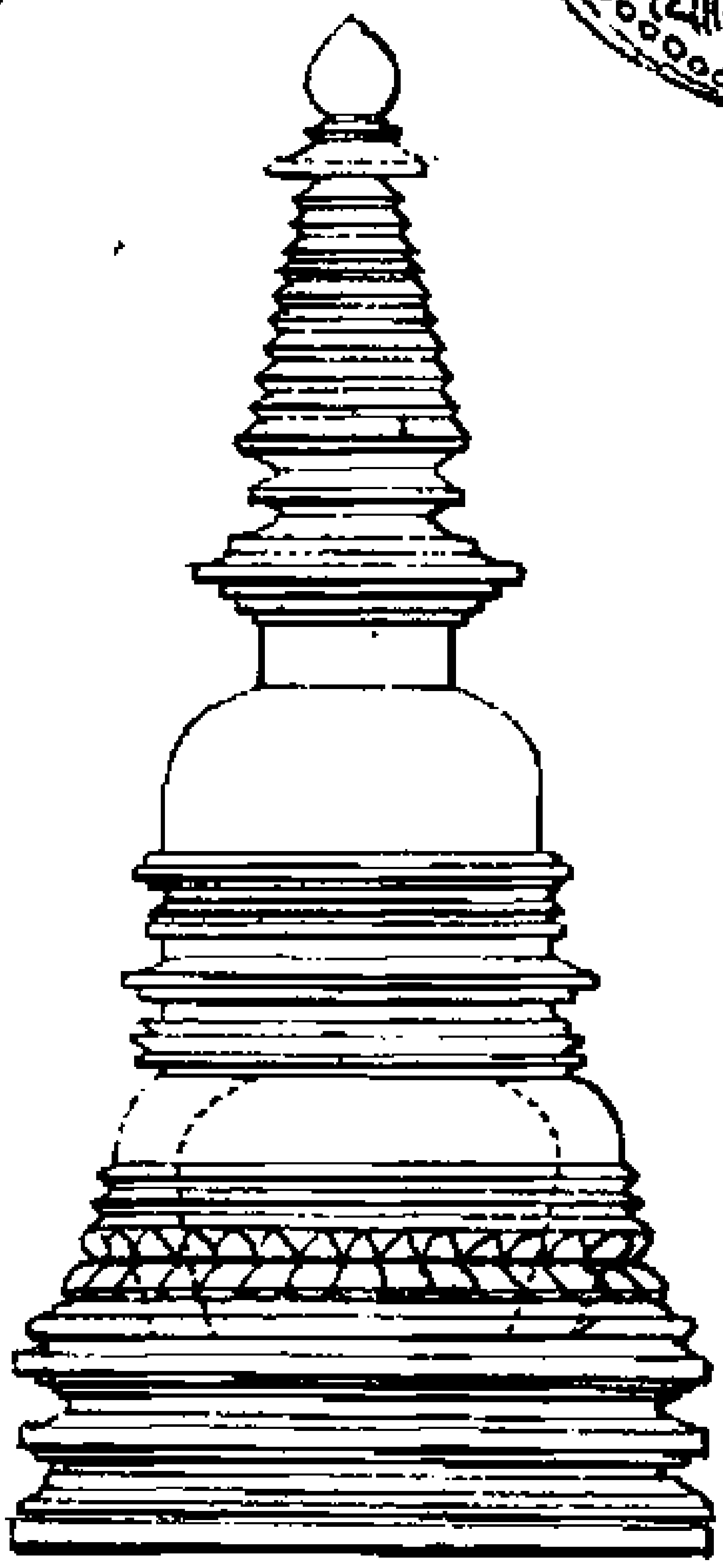
1



2

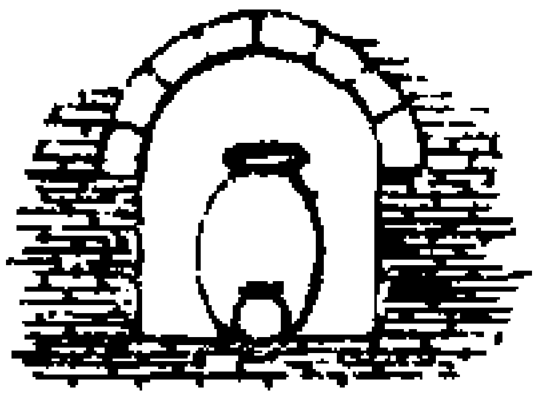
3

4



Full size

7



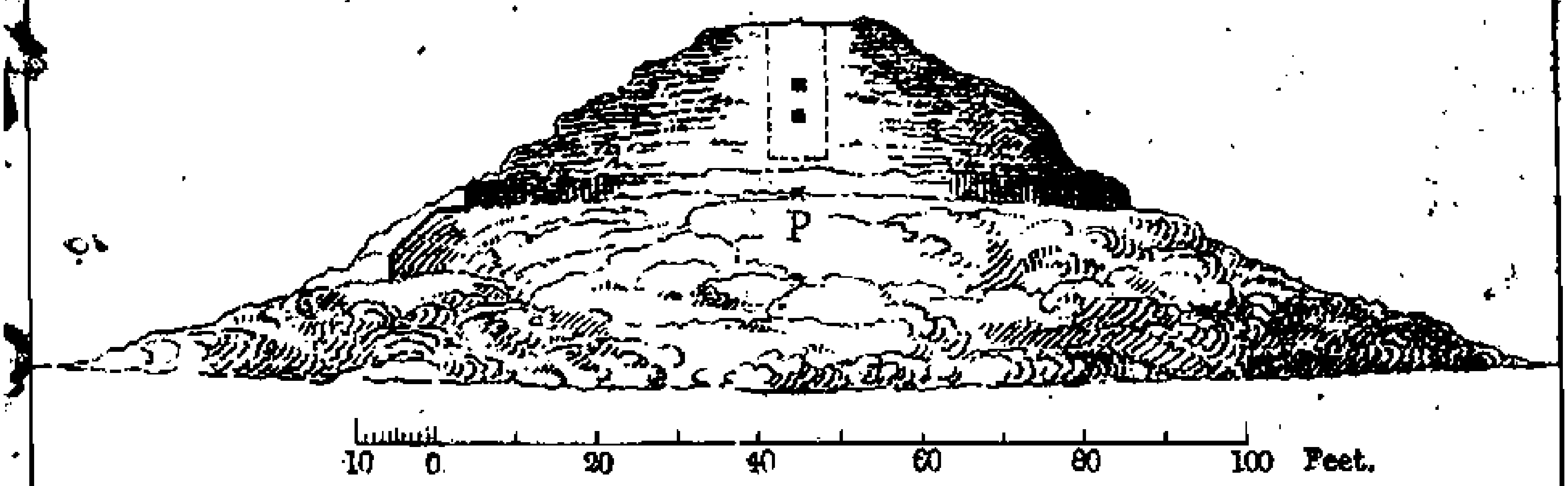
5

6

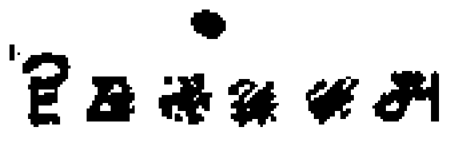
A. Cunningham, del.

NONGARH STUPA.

1



Letters on Base.



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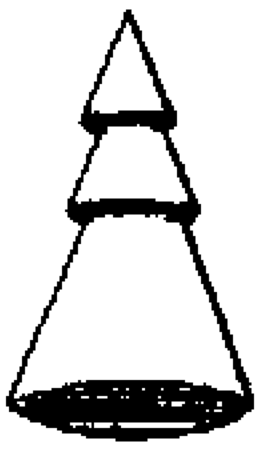

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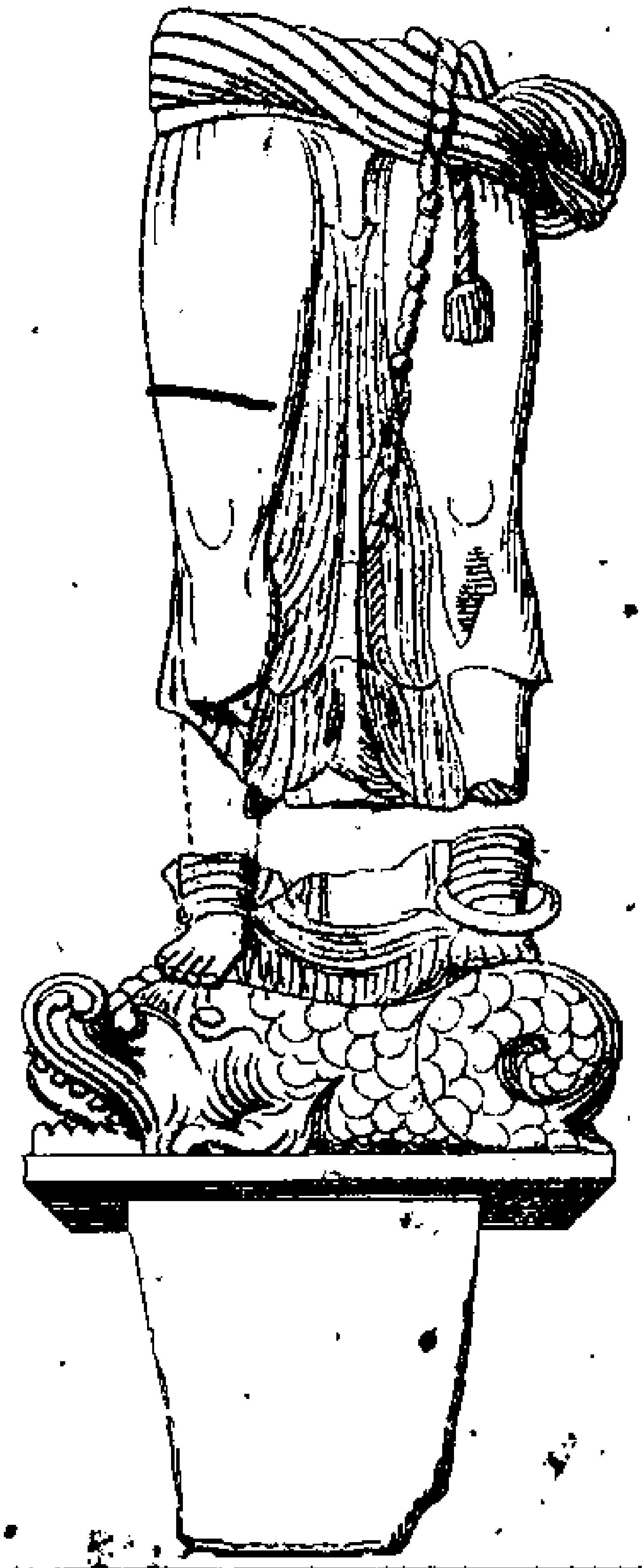

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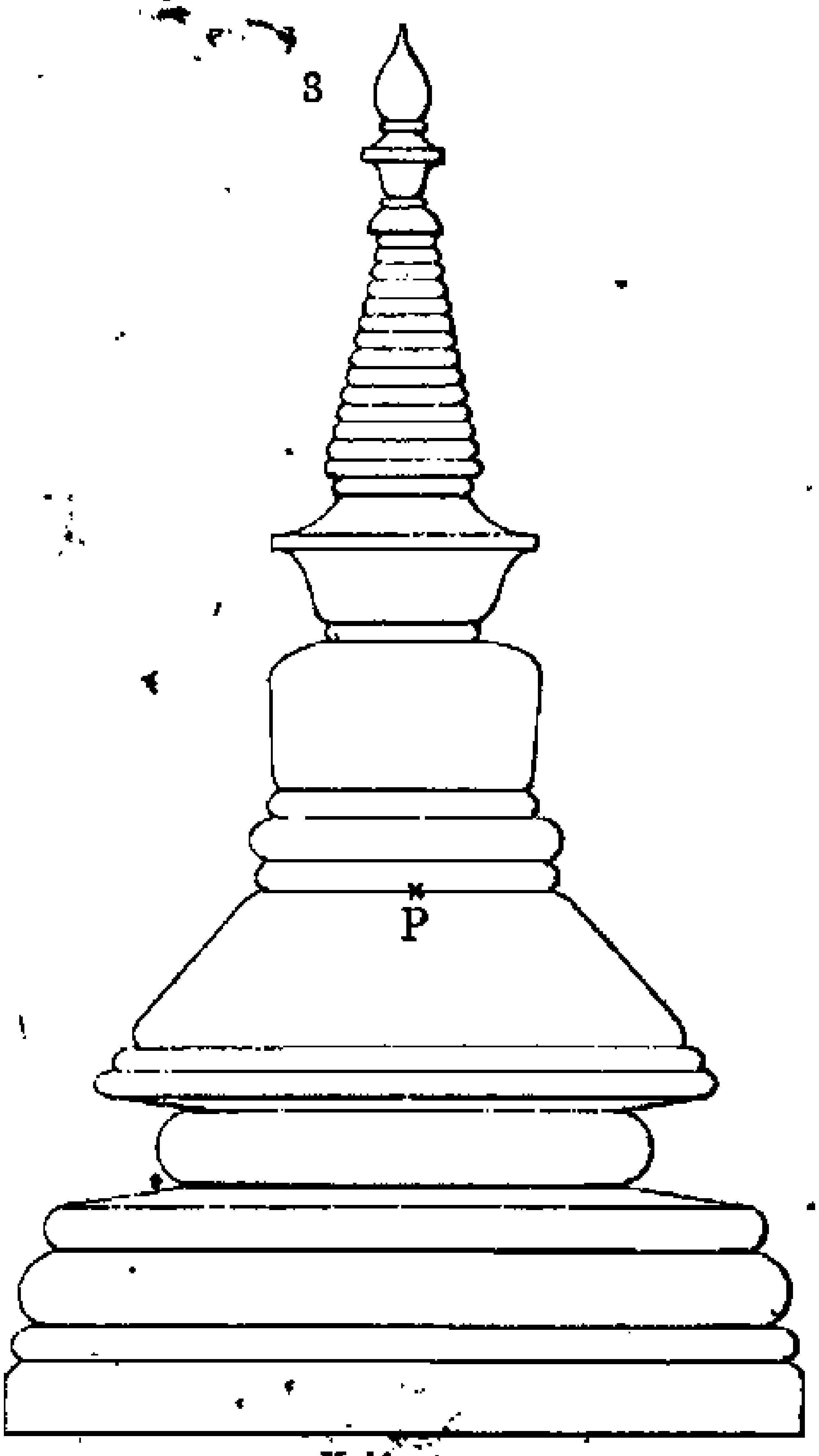

Half size.

A. Cunningham, del.

Litho. at the Survr. Genl's. Office, Cal. Nov. 1872.